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CAPTAIN R. H. CAMPBELL TUFNELL, M.S.C.
(EDITORIAL SECRETARY).

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NATURAL HISTORY

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PROCEEDINGS.

FIRST MEETING.

The first ordinary meeting of the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society for the Sessions 1887-88, was held on Thursday, the 13th October, at 5-30 P.M., in the Reading Room of the Old College, Nungumbaukum; the Venerable Archdeacon Brown in the chair.

The following papers were read :—

1. Hints to Coin-Collectors in Southern India, Part II., by Captain R. H. Campbell Tufnell, M.S.C.
*2. On the Etymology of certain Mythological Names, by Mr. M. Seshagiri Sastri, M.A.
3. On certain unpublished Coins of the Pāndyans, by the Rev. James E. Tracy, M.A.

Mr. Edgar Thurston exhibited some Zoological specimens from the Gulf of Manaar.

SECOND MEETING.

The second ordinary meeting of the society, for the reading of papers, was held on Thursday, the 17th November, at 5-30 P.M., in the Reading Room of the Old College, Nungumbaukum; H. S. Thomas, Esq., M.C.S., in the chair.

The following papers were read :—

1. Hints to Coin-Collectors in Southern India (conclusion), by Captain R. H. Campbell Tufnell, M.S.C.

*2. On Stone Implements found in Southern India, by Robert Bruce Foote, Esq.

3. On the Antiquities of the Chicacole District (revised list), by the Rev. J. R. Hutchinson.

THIRD MEETING.

The third ordinary meeting of the society, for the reading of papers, was held on Thursday, the 8th December, at 5-30 P.M., in the Reading Room of the Old College, Nungumbaukum; H. B. Grigg, Esq., M.C.S., in the chair.

The following papers were read :—

*1. What is the use of the Mosquito, by H. S. Thomas, Esq., M.C.S., F.L.S., F.Z.S.

2. On Photographic Printing in Bromide, by J. H. Lloyd, Esq.

FOURTH MEETING.

The fourth ordinary meeting of the society, for the reading of papers, was held on Friday, the 17th February, at 5-30 P.M., in the Reading Room of the Old College, Nungumbaukum.

The following papers were read :—

1. The Zodiacal Light, by C. Michie Smith, Esq., B.Sc.

*2. 'Ibn Batutah in Malabar, by Mrs. L. Fletcher.

* These papers will appear in the next number of the Journal.

Notes on the Principles of Hindu Music:

With a Collection of Nine Hindu Melodies.

(By E. STRADIOT.)

These notes, the outcome of my study of Native Music, are, I regret, not as thorough as I should like to have made them; yet I hope they will be of some use to those who, though taking an interest in Indian Music, are unable to devote their leisure to this subject. I am largely indebted to Mr. M. Seshagiri Shastriar, M.A., for the limited amount of knowledge I possess of Native Music, and I have to thank him very much indeed for the assistance he has given me by placing his as yet unprinted treatise on Indian Music at my disposal. I have written these notes especially to help my European fellow-countrymen in understanding and appreciating some of the peculiarities of Hindu Music.

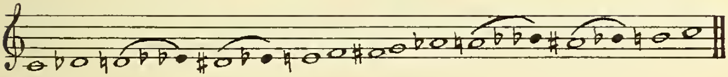
Notes on Hindu Music.

The Hindus divide the octave or series of eight musical sounds into 12 parts, as we do; to each of the notes in these 12 spaces they have given the following names :—

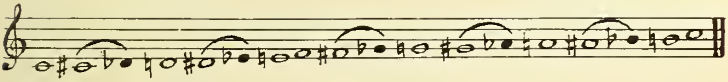
	Hindu Names of Notes.	Corresponding names of notes in European Music.
1.	Ṣadja	Do or C.
2.	Śuddhariṣabha	Ré ♭ or D♭.
3.	Catuśśrutiriṣabha Śuddhagāndhāra	Ré ♮ or D♮. Mi ♭♭ or E♭♭.
4.	Ṣacchrutiriṣabha Sādhāraṇagāndhāra	Ré ♯ or D♯. Mi ♭ or E ♭.
5.	Antaragāndhāra	Mi ♮ or E♮.
6.	Śuddhamadhyama	Fa or F.
7.	Pratimadhyama	Fa ♯ or F♯.
8.	Pañcama	Sol or G.
9.	Śuddhadhaivata	La ♭ or A♭.
10.	Catuśśrutidhaivata Śuddhaniṣāda	La ♮ or A♮ Si ♭♭ or B♭♭
11.	Ṣacchrutidhaivata Kaiśikiniṣāda	La ♯ or A♯. Si ♭ or B ♭.
12.	Kākaliniṣāda	Si ♮ or B ♮
13.	Ṣadja	Do or C.

This will be seen to be an Enharmonic Scale, differing in some respects from ours :

HINDU ENHARMONIC SCALE.



EUROPEAN ENHARMONIC SCALE.



I have bracketed together all the enharmonic intervals in both lists.

The contraction of the words (1) Ṣaḍja (2) Riṣabha (3) Gāndhāra (4) Madhyama (5) Pañcama (6) Dhaivata, and (7) Niṣāda, without their prefixes are Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Da, Ni, which correspond to the 7 syllables Do, Ré, Mi, Fa, Sol, La, Si, of our Music ; here are their forms in Sanscrit characters. स, रि, ग, म, प, द, नि.
Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Da, Ni.

These they employ in notation, and in naming the notes for facility in singing.

To form a scale or Rāga (as it is called by them) they have taken seven notes and the octave of the first note, out of the twelve semitones, as they recognize the interval of a quarter tone, that is a slight difference of intonation between say Ré♯ and Mi♭, (D♯ and E♭). They find as many as seventy-two different combinations of seven notes out of the whole of their Enharmonic Scale ; they are not allowed, however, to use a note and one which would be nearly identical in pitch with it in the same combination ; also Do (C) and Sol (G) are not altered by any "accidental"

in their system. A reference to their Enharmonic Scale will demonstrate this.

This is how they solve the problems. They take

Ré ♭ (D ♭)	and combine	it with	Mi ♭♭	(E ♭♭)
Ré ♮ (D ♮)	„	„	Mi ♭	(E ♭)
Ré ♯ (D ♯)	„	„	Mi ♮	(E ♮)
Ré ♭ (D ♭)	„	„	Mi ♭	(E ♭)
Ré ♮ (D ♮)	„	„	Mi ♮	(E ♮)
Ré ♭ (D ♭)	„	„	Mi ♮	(E ♮)

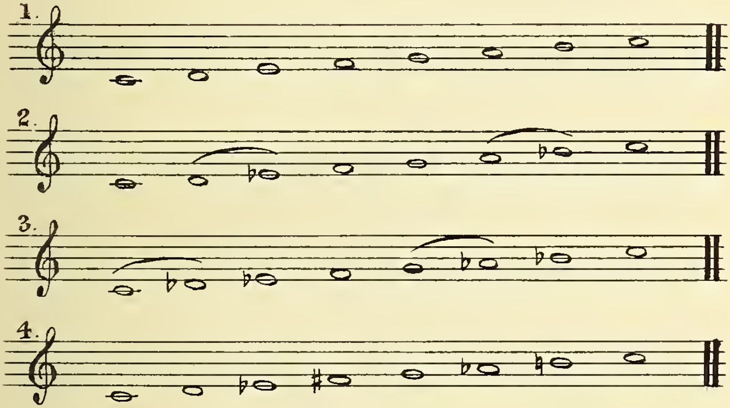
This gives them six combinations of D's and E's. Doing the same with.

La ♭ (A ♭)	combining	it	with	Si ♭♭	(B ♭♭)
La ♮ (A ♮)	„	„	„	Si ♭	(B ♭)
La ♯ (A ♯)	„	„	„	Si ♮	(B ♮)
La ♭ (A ♭)	„	„	„	Si ♭	(B ♭)
La ♮ (A ♮)	„	„	„	Si ♮	(B ♮)
La ♭ (A ♭)	„	„	„	Si ♮	(B ♮)

which also gives them six combinations of A's and B's; by combining the D's and E's with A's and B's in every possible way they obtain 36 combinations of these; Fa (F) is then placed after Mi (E) in these combinations; by placing Fa♯ (F♯) in the same combinations they obtain the remaining 36 scales (it must be borne in mind that if a single note be altered in a scale, it makes a new combination of that scale). They then place Do (C) before Ré (D) and Sol (G) before La (A) in all the combinations, thus giving them 72 complete different scales of seven notes.

It will be seen by this that they do not recognize the Major and Minor Modes as we do, though the Major Scale and some forms of the Minor are to be found among the 72 scales of their system.

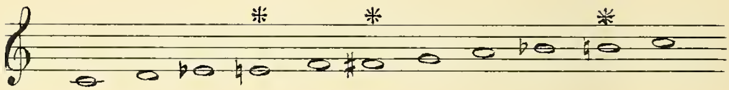
From these they form their melodies; here are a few of them.



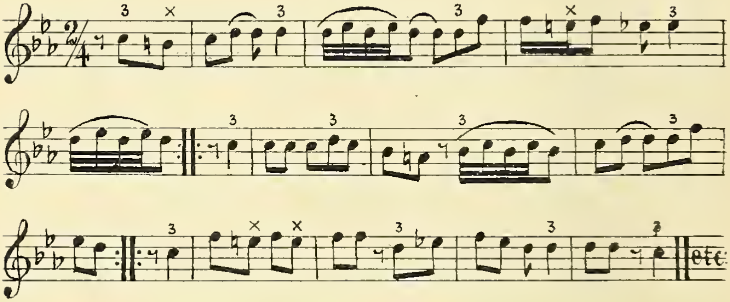
The first of them is like our Diatonic Major Scale; the second like the Dorian Authentic Mode transposed; the third like the Phrygian Mode transposed, perhaps showing a common origin with the ancient Greek Modes; the fourth, strange to say, is identical with one of the scales in Hungarian music, a Minor scale with two augmented seconds. The Hindus never mix one mode or scale with another; whatever scale a certain melody is derived from, they never modulate out of it, as we do, for instance, from the Major into the Minor Mode or *vice versâ*; this is one cause of the monotony of their music,—another is their imperfect knowledge of harmony.

In latter times, however, owing to the influence of Mahomedan music, and their intercourse with Europeans, they have tolerated the use of a few accidental notes foreign to the mode or scale from which some of the melodies are derived; these accidentals would in some cases

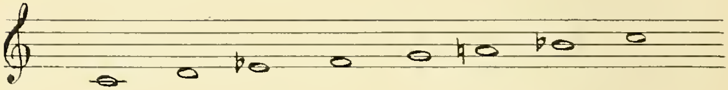
occur on the 7th, 3rd and 4th degrees of a scale like the 2nd abovementioned, thus :—



where the 3rd, 4th and 7th degrees would be accidentally raised a semitone. An example of this will be found in a Hindu melody called "The Kapi of Hindoostan," of which I here give a few bars :—



If we examine this tune, we shall find that it is derived from the following scale :—



that is a minor scale, without a leading note (*i.e.*, a seventh a semitone below the octave), so characteristic of our modern tonality, whether in the Major or Minor mode.

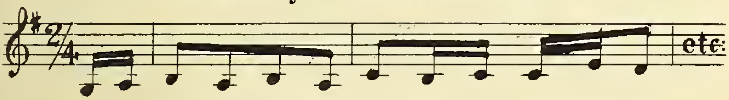
Therefore, the B ♮ in the half bar beginning the melody just quoted, which is marked with a cross, and the E ♮ in the same bar, and also those in the 9th (though they be

considered as licences only allowed as passing notes introduced for variety's sake according to the Hindu custom) would go to prove that, since their intercourse with Europeans and the influence of the latter's music on them, they have tried to improve on their old forms, and have thus unwittingly sought after a more satisfactory tonality than they had before. The E ♭ in the 9th bar of the tune above cited may be considered as the leading note of the key of F minor, into which this melody modulates, showing a tendency to transitory modulation or temporary change of key in their more modern melodies; however, these changes are not to be met with in ancient Hindu Tunes.

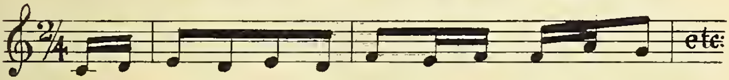
The Hindus retain the names of notes: Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, etc., no matter in what key or pitch their melodies may be played or sung, like the Tonic Sol-Fa system of the present day. The principle is a very old one, it dates back as far as the Greeks, who applied it to their system of Tetrachords: thus a tune whether sung in G or C would retain the same letters for the names of notes, and the pitch alone would change.

EXAMPLE.

Hindu Melody. "Sankara bahrana"



Sa, Ri, Ga, Ri, Ga, Ri, Ma, Ga, Ma, Ma, Da, Pa



Sa, Ri, Ga, Ri, Ga, Ri, Ma, Ga, Ma, Ma, Da, Pa.

As there is little change of key or modulation in Hindu music, this system answers their purpose very well.

HARMONY.

The Hindus have as yet made very little advance in the knowledge of Harmony, or the simultaneous union of different musical sounds, though they have discovered its first principles, these having been revealed to them by the phenomena observed in the vibration of strings. Here are the rules they give :—

1*st Rule.*—Any note and its perfect fifth will harmonize together, the first will be the fundamental one, the other they call the ornamental one, as when C and G are played together; if G be harmonized with D a fifth higher G will be called C and D, G; that is, as G becomes the fundamental note, it is termed Sa, (or C), and D assumes the name of Pa (or G), being the ornamental (or dominant according to our system). This clearly illustrates what has been said before with regard to their retaining the same name for whatever note becomes the tonic or key note, and so on for the other notes related to that tonic.

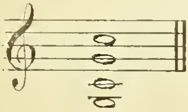
If C and F be heard together a fourth apart, F will become Tonic (or Sa,) and C will be the dominant and take the name (Pa), or, according to our notation, F will assume the name of C, and C that of G. The perfect fifth is considered a perfect consonance, as with us.

2*nd Rule.*—Any note and its perfect fourth may harmonize together, but the fourth is considered an imperfect consonance.

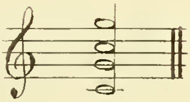
3rd Rule.—Every sound may harmonize with its unison, its octave, its fourth and octaves of the 4th ; every sound may also harmonize in the same way with its 5th and octaves of the fifth.

EXAMPLES.

8ve of Tonic..
8ve of 4th ...
Tonic ....
4th below.....



8ve of 5th ...
8ve of Tonic.
5th ....
Tonic..........



It is strange that they have not admitted the 3rd or 6th major and minor in their concords, and have simply been satisfied with the Tonic and Dominant, but so it is, and further than this they have not advanced into the science of Harmony.

The only use the Hindus make of these chords of Tonic and Dominant is to play them as a "drone," or double pedal, in long sustained notes throughout a melody played or sung.

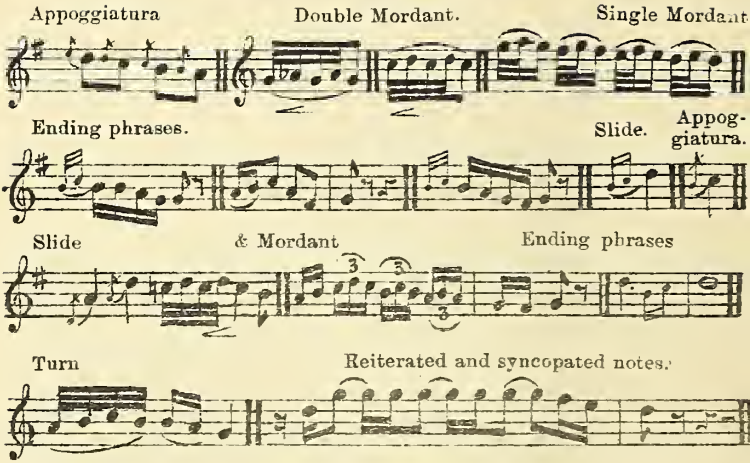
These pedals or drones are played either on instruments similar in tone to the Bagpipe, or else struck together (arpeggio fashion) on stringed instruments of the Vīṇā or Tamboor kind ; they sometimes mark the rhythm and principal accents of the melody in this way.

Those instruments which are only employed as an accompaniment are called " Sruti," or Harmony instruments.

———o———

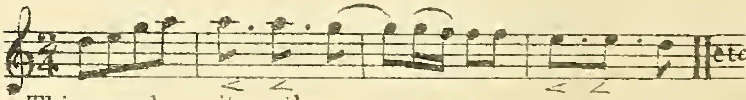
PECULIARITIES OF HINDU MUSIC.

Hindu music abounds in grace notes, fioriturі, shakes, turns and embellishments of all kinds, which are introduced into a melody at the will of the performer, provided they do not disturb the time which must remain intact throughout. Here are a few of these embellishments :—

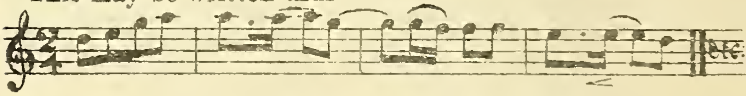


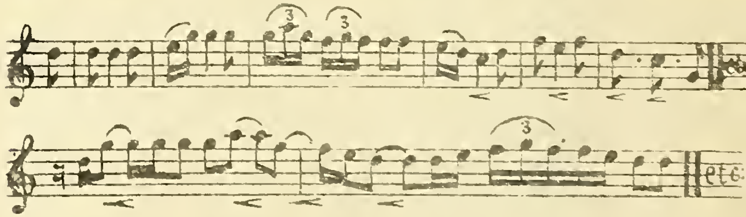
They will play a phrase of a melody and vary it in a number of ways each time they repeat it, before proceeding to the next, which will be embellished in thesame fashion.

The Hindus are very fond of syncopation. They introduce this device in nearly all their compositions. It gives a peculiar charm to the rhythm of their music. Here are a few examples :—



This may be written thus :





RHYTHM AND TIME.

The Hindus make use of several kinds of rhythms some of which we do not possess.

Their *Talas* or measure may be divided into two classes: 1st, bars divided into equal parts; 2nd, bars of an unequal number of beats.

Under the 1st division comes:—

(1) A measure with two beats or accents in the bar, similar to our 2/4 time.

(2) A measure of 4 beats in the bar with a strong accent on the 1st beat.

(3) A measure of 8 beats in the bar, the 1st, 5th, and 7th beats being strongly accented.

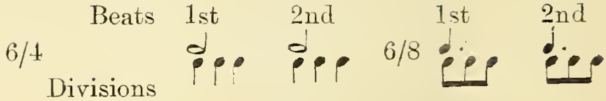
In the 2nd Division they have:—

(1) A measure of 3 beats in the bar, the 1st beat alone being accented. This is like our 3/8 or 3/4 time taken quickly.

(2) A rhythm of 5 beats in the bar, the 1st and 3rd beats being strongly accented. It is similar to our 5/4 time (that is, a combination of a bar of 2/4 followed by one of 3/4). This rhythm is seldom made use of by them.

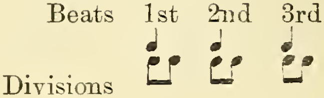
(3) A rhythm of 6 beats in the bar, the 1st and 3rd beats being strongly accented. I have placed this measure in the 2nd division instead of the 1st, because it is not divided like our 6/4 or 6/8 time into two beats; each beat being divided by 3.

Examples ;



but rather like our slow 3/4 time, each beat being divided by 2,

thus :—



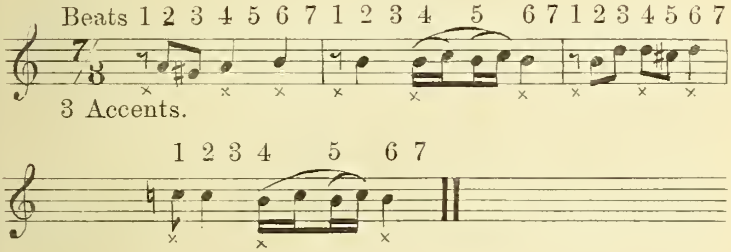
but with this difference that the six half beats with us are considered as full beats with them, the 1st and 3rd being accented in this measure. With three beats in the bar in our music, the 1st beat alone is strongly accented, the other beats being considered weak, unless in some special case, where the composer emphasises the 2nd beat to produce a particular effect.

(4) A rhythm of seven beats in the bar, the strong accents falling on the 1st, 4th and 6th beats. It would be expressed in our music by a bar of 3/4 or 3/8 followed by one of common time 4/4, or 4/8 not much used in European music, except in that of the Hungarians. Great composers have sometimes employed this measure. Brahms has, in the "Hungarian Song" on which he has written variations, Op. 21, No. 2.

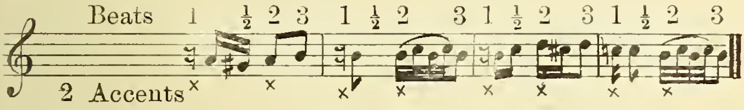
The Hindus make use also of the half of this measure, namely three beats and a half in the bar, there being two accents of unequal length, one on the beginning of the 1st and ½ beat of the bar, the other on the 1st of the remaining two beats.

There is an example of this measure in the following tune called "Hindoostani Trapi"

With 7 beats in the bar



With 3½ beats in the bar



In No. 5 of Hindu Melodies, I have given this melody reduced to 2/4 for facility of execution, by taking the 1st three notes as a triplet and commencing on the second half of the bar thus:

The music seems to run smoother in this way and it makes a very slight difference in the time, though with 7 beats in the bar it gives the tune a peculiarly original character.

NOTATION.

The Hindu system of Notation is as yet in a very imperfect and incomplete state. The seven principal sounds in the scale are represented by the Sanscrit letters.

स, रि, ग, म, प, द, नि.
Sa, Rí, Ga, Ma, Pa, Da, Ni.

(C. D. E. F. G. A. B.)

They have no means, however, of showing at what pitch, or in which octave, the notes must be played or sung. This must be learnt orally in the case of each melody from their music-teachers.

They have no signs to represent accidentals, as we have, ♯, ♭, ♮, ×, ♭♭, ♮♮, but they do not often require them, as they seldom employ them in the course of a piece. To determine the nature of the mode of the scale (Rāga) the melody belongs to (having distinctive names for the 72 varieties of their scale), all they have to do is to write the name of the scale at the head of the tune, and it will indicate to them the nature of each interval of the scale the tune is derived from; just as if we say such a piece is in G Major, we know that every F in the piece, is to be sharpened unless contradicted by an accidental; in cases where they employ a few accidentals, (though only allowed as a licence) they have to be learnt orally, like the pitch or key of the piece. Embellishments, such as shakes, grace notes, turns, etc., are in most cases communicated orally or by tradition.

Having names for every kind of rhythm or measure (which they call Tala), they mention the name of the measure at the beginning of the piece, together with the name of the Rāga or scale, and this gives them a general idea of the time of the composition; but the exact value of each note is not clearly indicated. It is learnt in the same way as the pitch of the melody, *i.e.*, from those who teach music.

M. Seshagiri Shastriar, M. A. Assistant Professor of Vernacular Literature in the Presidency College, Madras,

(who is an able performer on the Vīṇā, and whose brother has established a Hindu school of music here), and to whom I am indebted for all my information on the subject, has written a treatise on the principles of Hindu Music, and has to a certain extent endeavoured to improve and extend the Hindu system of Notation. Here is his method :—

1st.—To determine the pitch of a melody, whether in the Bass, Tenor, or Treble, he uses the sign X for Bass, XX for Tenor, XXX for Treble.

2nd.—To show that a note has been raised a semi-tone, he puts a dash over the letter indicating that note, thus: रि́ (Ri′ D), when raised a full tone, two dashes: रि″ (D). The note without a dash or stroke over it would mean that the note was at its lowest pitch; for instance, their lowest D is D ♭, it would therefore be represented by the letter without the stroke.

3rd.—He has also employed certain signs in addition to the ordinary way of indicating the Tala or Time in a composition. Here are the signs: | , a perpendicular line divides each bar as with us; • a dot marks the accented beats in the bar; —, a dash, means a rest or silence in the music, and figures placed over the notes show the exact value of each note. The number of beats in the bar are indicated by strokes placed over these figures.

Here are a few bars of a melody written in accordance with M. Seshagiri's system of notation, by which it will be seen that, though he has certainly improved on their

system, he has also made it very complicated; and, after all, it will not bear comparison with ours for simplicity and completeness, in showing almost at a glance the most intricate combinations of time and sound, the shape of the notes determining their value, and their position on the stave coupled with the clef and key signatures denoting their exact pitch.

Hindu melody "Sankara bharana"

("Siva's Jewel.")

Title of Rāga or scale.	English signification.		1st Bar							
*Saṅkara bharaṇa,	Like our common Diatonic major scale.		Number of beats, those accented marked •.							
			×				×		×	
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pitch or Register.	Pitch.									
× ×	In the Tenor		•				•		•	
Tala.	Time.									
Ādi Tala	8 beats in the bar 3/4 time.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
		½ ½	1	1	1	1	1	½ ½	½ ½	1
			″	′	″	′	′	″ ′	′ ′	
		स रि	ग,	रि,	ग,	रि,	स,	ग, स,	स, द,	प.

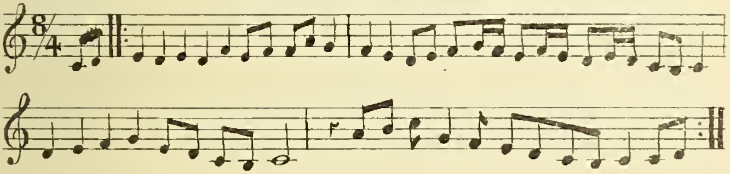
* In this case the title of the melody is the same as that of the scale it is derived from.

Their scales bear fanciful names, always referring to some of the Hindu Gods.

2nd Bar	3rd Bar.
× × ×	× × ×
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
• • •	• • •
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
1 1 ½ ½ ½ ¼ ¼ ½ ¼ ¼ ½ ¼ ¼ ½ ½ 1	1 1 1 1 ½ ½ ½ 1 1
सं,गँ,रिं,गँ,मं,प, मं, गँ,मं, गँ,रिं,गँ, रिं, स,न्निँ,स,	रिं,गँ,मं,प,गँ,रिं,स, निँ,स

4th Bar.
× × ×
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
• • •
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
1 ½ ½ ½ 1 ½ ½ ½ ½ ½ 1 ½ ½
– दं,निँ,स, पं,मं,गँ,रिं,स,निँस,स,रिं

Solution in our Notation

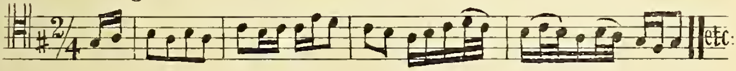


This melody should be transposed in G and in the Tenor clef to sound at the exact pitch it is played at on their Vīṇā.

The key note of their natural scale answers to our key of G, to which most of their instruments are tuned.

Instead of writing the tune in 8/4 time, it could be reduced to 2/4 or C, with four beats in the bar, thus :—

Allegretto.



or this

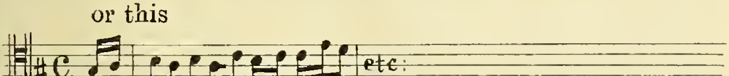
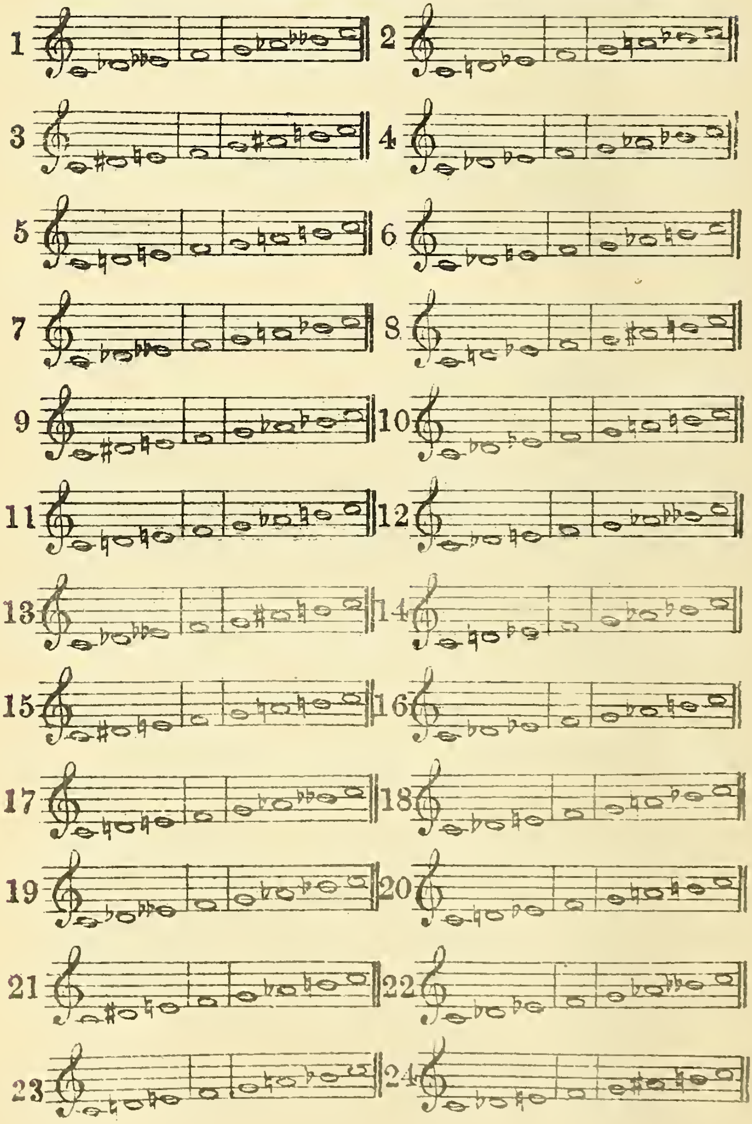
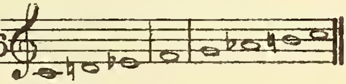
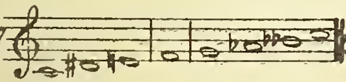


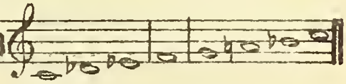
TABLE OF THE 72 ORIGINAL RAGAS OR SCALES IN HINDU MUSIC.

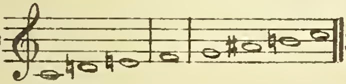


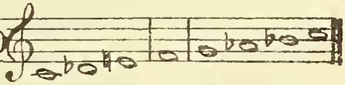
25

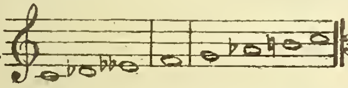
26 

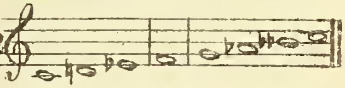
27 

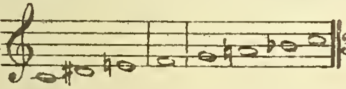
28 

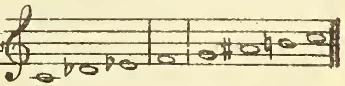
29 

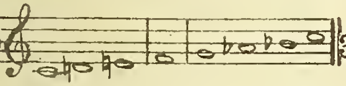
30 

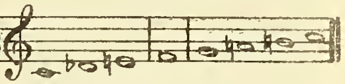
31 

32 

33 

34 

35 

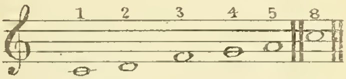
36 

To complete the remaining 36 scales, rewrite the above with F ♯ substituted for F ♮

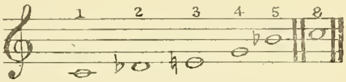
There are a number of other Rāgas or Scales called Derivative Rāgas. These are formed by omitting some of the notes in the above, taking for instance five notes (less than five, I believe may not be taken) out of any seven. Of course, the octave is not included, as it is only the repetition of the same sound, so to speak.

EXAMPLES.

Derivative Rāga taken from No. 5 of this Table

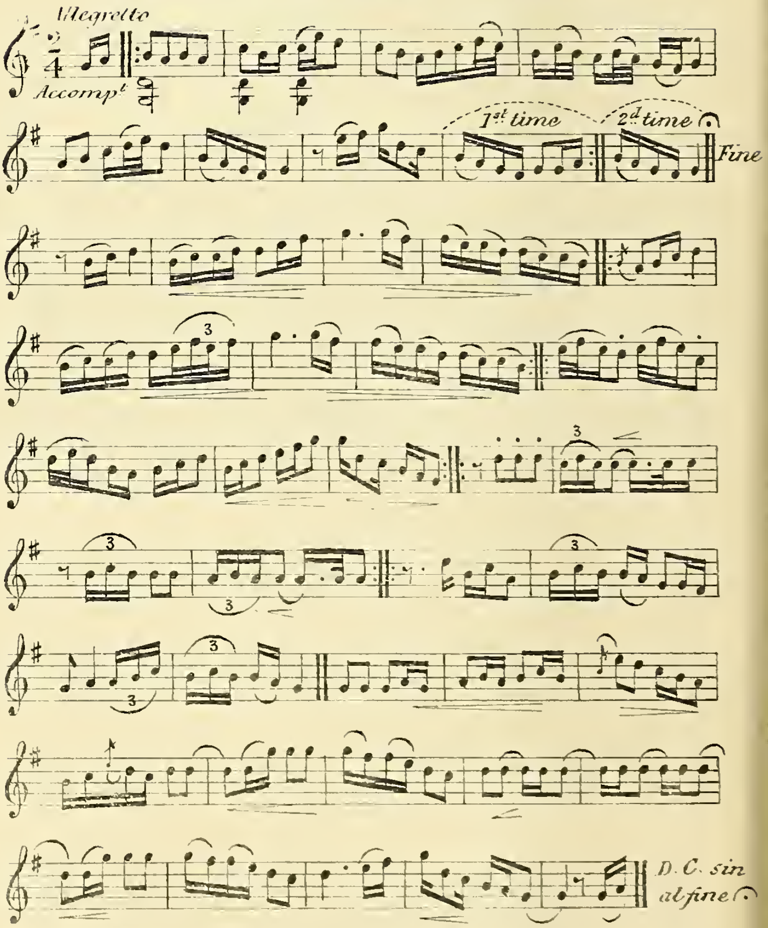


Rāga derived from No. 18



Hindu Melodies.

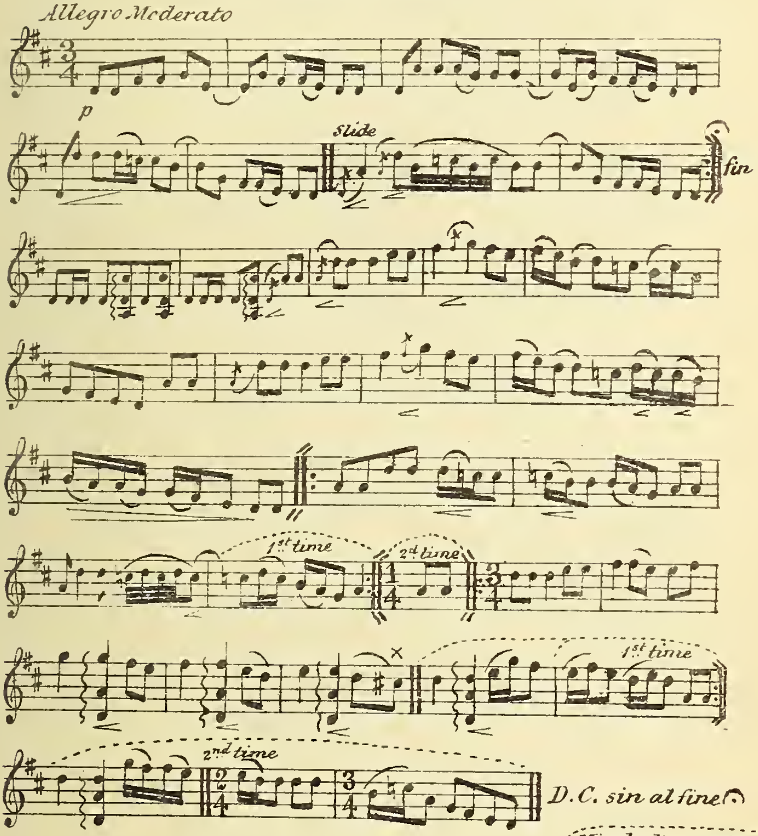
NO. 1. "SANKARA BHARANA" Siva's Jewel.



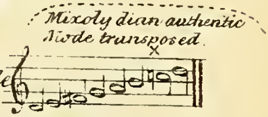
This Melody is simply a series of variations on the Diatonic Major Scale.

NO. 2. "NAVARASA KANADA"

This title probably means the Carnatic Song expressing nine different feelings.



This Melody is founded on the following Scale

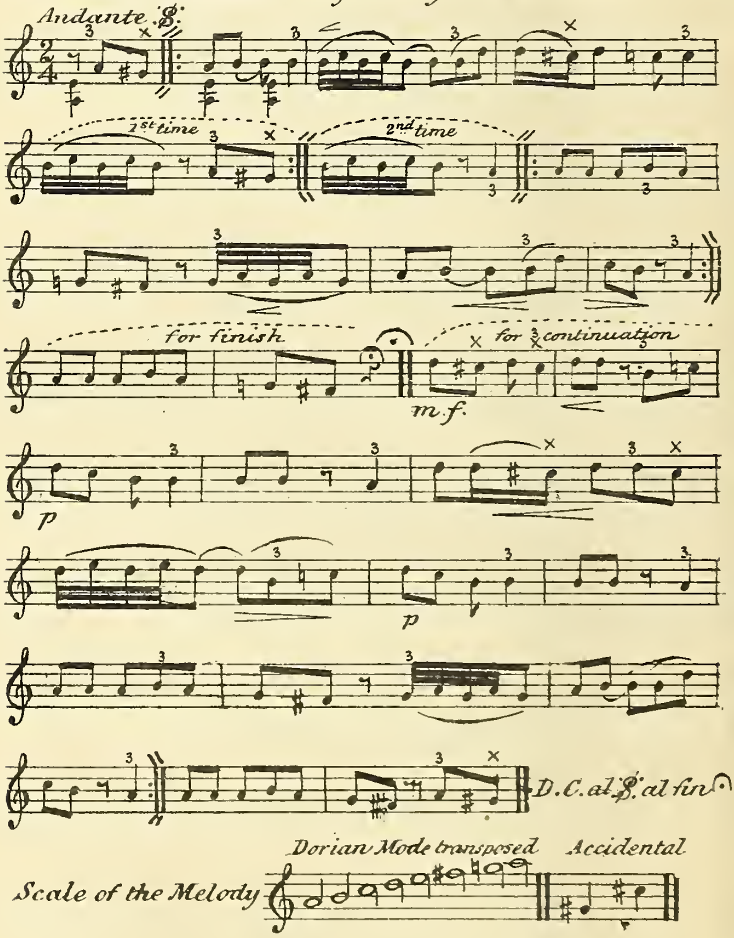


A Diatonic Major Scale without a leading note; or with a minor seventh, the C♯ occurs but twice in the Melody × and that as an accidental.

NO. 3. "HINDUSTANI KAPI"

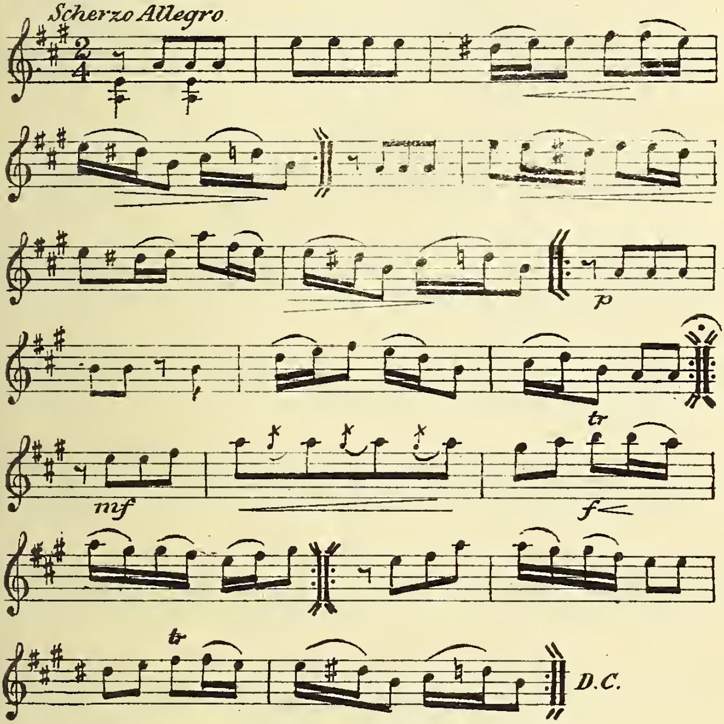
(The Kapi of Hindustan. A love song.)

Kapi is the name of Java among the Hindus, the title may therefore mean "The Javanese song as sung in Hindustan.



NO. 4. "SARANGA"

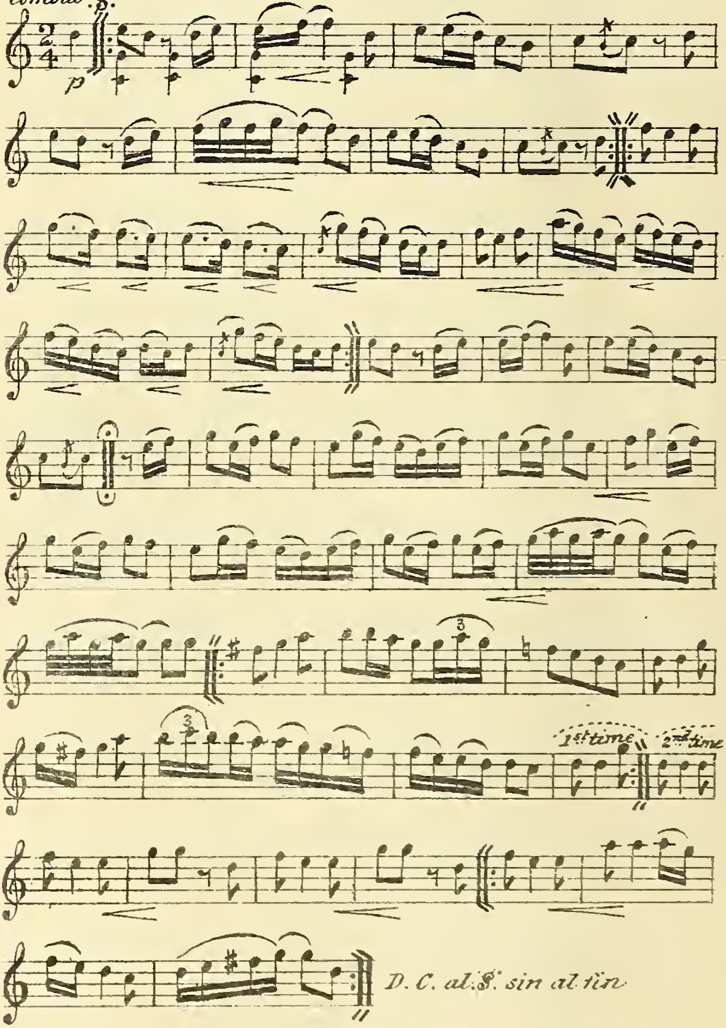
Saranga or Saranda takes its name from the Instrumement on which it is played called the Saranda, a Mahomedan form of the Violin or Viola.



Formed on the Major Diatonic Scale.

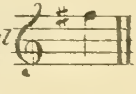
NO. 5. "KAMAS." (A love song)

Allegro Comodo



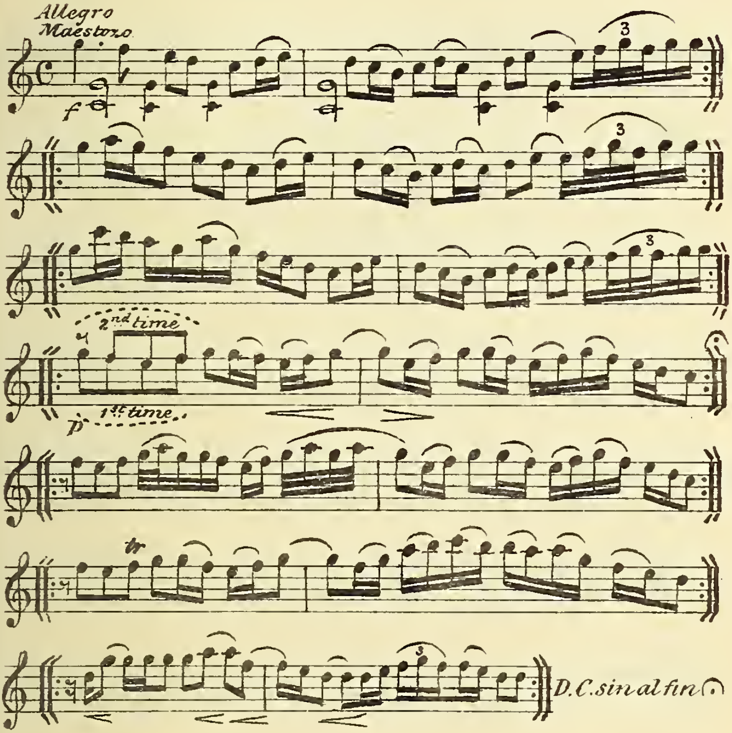
Formed on the Diatonic Major Scale.

with an Accidental occasionally met with:



NO. 6. "KAMAS."

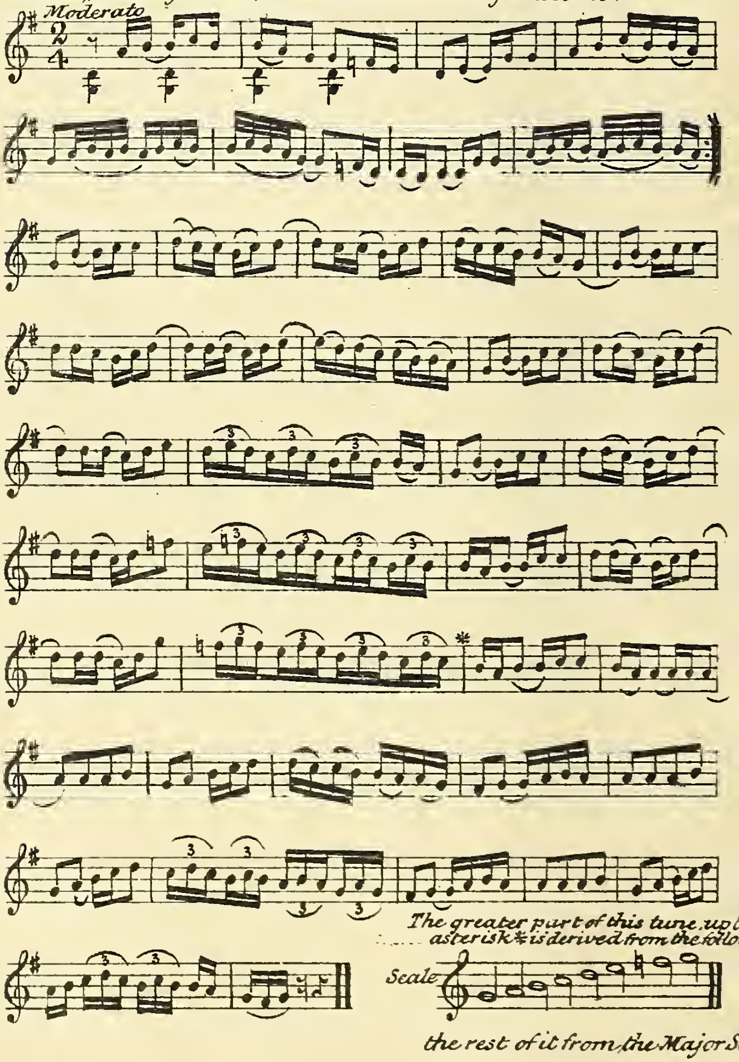
(A song in praise of Vishnu)



Melody formed on the Diatonic Major Scale.

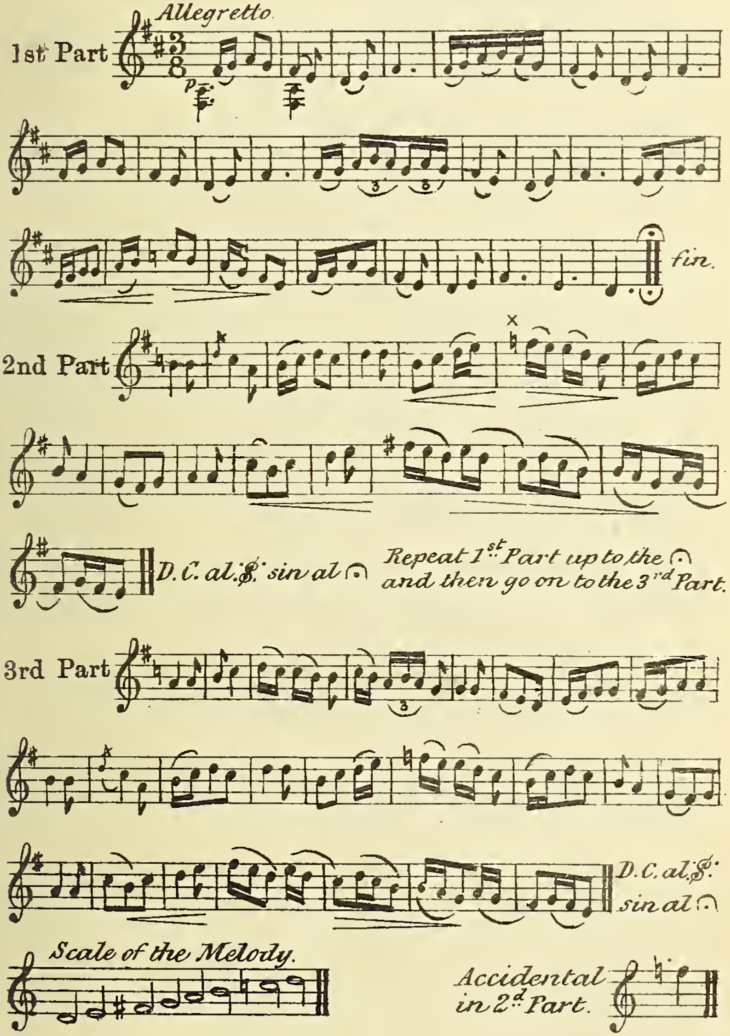
NO. 7. "JANJHOTI."

Jhan or Shan meaning good or beautiful: Jholi, contraction of Shurati; probably means, "The beautiful song of Surat."



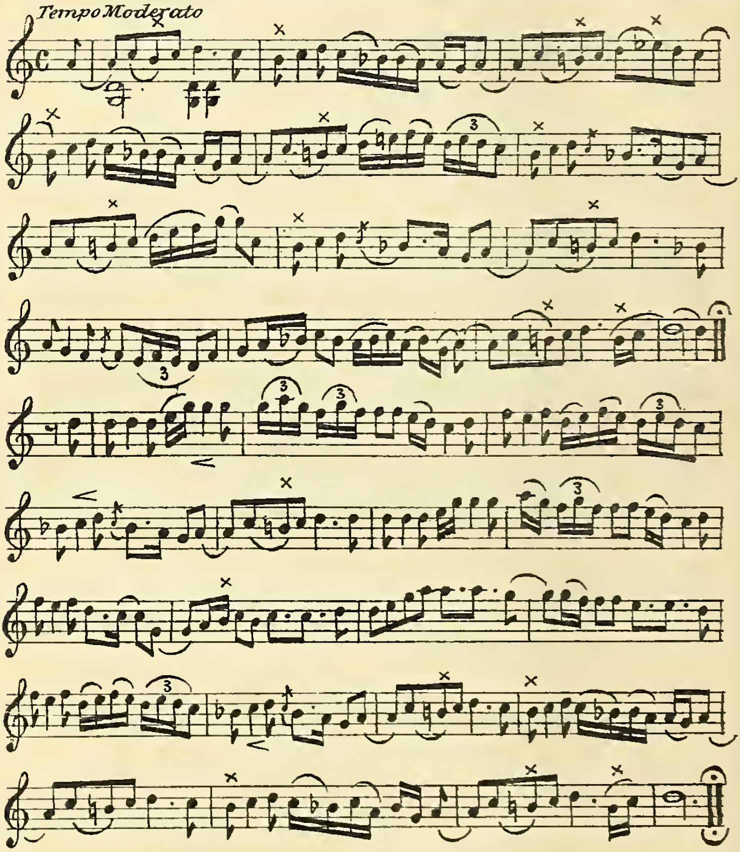
NO. 8. "HARI—KAMBOJI."

Hari is a title of the God Vishnu: Kamboji means Cambogia; it probably signifies a Cambonian Hymn to Vishnu.

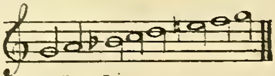


NO. 9. "HUSANI."

This Melody is of Mahomedan origin and possibly takes its name from one of Mahomed's decendants, called Hussein.



This tune is very peculiar, but I think it is formed on the following scale like No. 3



what we would call a Minor Scale without a leading note; many an accidental B♮ and E♭ is to be found in this Melody which I think denotes its Mahomedan origin. F. S.

On the Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarṣa or India.

(By GUSTAV OPPERT.)

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

General Remarks.

No one who undertakes to study the ancient history of India can fail to be impressed by the scantiness of the material at his disposal. In fact such an undertaking would soon appear to be futile, were he to depend solely on Indian accounts and records. Fortunately, however, we possess some writings of foreigners who visited India; and their reports of what they actually saw during their stay in this country, and of what they were able to gather from trustworthy sources, furnish us with materials of a sufficiently reliable character. If we except Kashmir and Ceylon, regarding the latter as belonging to India, no part of India possesses anything like a continuous historical record. The preponderance of caste and the social prejudices it creates are disabilities such as no Hindu who wishes to relate the history of his country can entirely overcome. The natives of India have, as a rule, little sympathy with people outside their own class, and when it is believed that persons belonging to the highest caste can by their piety ensure final beatitude, if they simply remember and revere the memory of their three immediate predecessors—father, grandfather, and great grandfather—we need not wonder at the apathy displayed towards history by them and by others who are beneath them in the social scale.

Yet, if the study of Indian history has up to now not proved interesting to the Hindus themselves—and there exist many good reasons why this has been and is still the case—this fact need not discourage foreigners, who are interested in this subject, from pursuing it.

It is true no doubt that the results which have been obtained from decipherings and archæological researches in India, must appear insignificant when compared with what has been achieved elsewhere in the same fields. Still, there is no need to despair of final success, for our knowledge and material are daily increasing, though Indian history at present, becomes interesting only when it throws light on the communal, legal and social conditions of the people, or on their intercourse and relation with foreigners.

Owing to the meagreness and often to the untrustworthiness of the historical material, an Indian historian must be continually on the look-out for new tracks in which to pursue his researches. The task of a scientific historian is difficult in itself, but it is made still more so, if a scholar is anxious to make original researches and strike out for himself a new path in Indian history, as, in addition to other qualifications, he must be a linguist possessing some knowledge of the language of the people into whose past he is inquiring.

The limited number of Indian historical records, including architectural, palæographical, numismatic and similar antiquities, compels a student of Indian history to draw within his range subjects other than those usually regarded as strictly historical, *e.g.*, the names of nations and individuals, of countries and towns, of mountains and rivers, and such other topics, in which he believes that historical relics lie concealed.

I have selected as the subject of this inquiry the people to whom I assign in default of a better name that of Gauda-Dravidian, who by the extensive area they occupied, and over

which their descendants are still scattered, are well worthy of a careful research being made into their past history.

Philological Remarks.

Before entering upon the historical part of this inquiry, a few general philological remarks will not be out of place. Every one who is even slightly acquainted with the laws which govern the interchange of letters, knows that the labial nasal *m* is often permuted into the other labials as *p*, *b*, or *v* and *vice versâ*. *Mumba* is thus changed to Bombay, and *Mallava* into Ballava; *Marukaccha* is identical with *Bharukaccha*; Sanskrit *pramāṇa* is altered to Kanarese *pavaṇu* or *havaṇu*, measure; *maṭṭai*, stem, in Tamil resembles *paṭṭai*, bark; *maḍandai* in Tamil, woman, corresponds to *paḍati* in Telugu, and *Mal̤l̤ar* to Pal̤l̤ar, &c. On the other hand, *Bhavāni* becomes Bhamāni; *Vānam*, heaven, is changed in Tamil to *Mānam*; *Palavanēri* to Palamanēri; *Pallava* to Vallama (Velama) and Vallamba; *pal̤l̤āḍu*, goat, in Tamil, to vel̤l̤āḍu; *Vaḍavan* to Vaḍaman; the words *Ciṟuvan* and Ciṟuman, *youth*, both occur; *piṟaṅku*, to shine, in Tamil corresponds to the Telugu *meruṅgu*, &c.

The above-mentioned rule is general and applies to other languages as well, for in Greek, *omma*, *e.g.*, becomes *oppa*; *meta*, peda; *membras*, bembras; *pallein*, ballein, and *patein*, batein, &c.; but nowhere else does there exist such a variety and difference of pronunciation as in the vernacular languages of India. Their system of writing is a proof of this fact. Tamil has, *e.g.*, only one sign for the four sounds[1] belonging to each of the five classes; in fact 20 different sounds are expressed by five letters, and even where, as in Telugu, these 20 sounds are provided with 20

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[1] க் for k, kh, g, gh; ச் for c, ch, j, jh; ட் for ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh; த் for t, th, d, dh; and ப் for p, ph, b, bh. In their transliteration accordingly are only used *k*, *c*, *t*, *ṭ* and *p*, which indicate the letter, but not the sound.

distinct characters, the pronunciation still remains so uncertain, that in his Telugu Dictionary the late Mr. C. P. Brown arranged these four letters respectively under one head. The cause of this striking peculiarity and these continual permutations is to be found partly no doubt in indefinite pronunciation and dialectical divergencies, but mainly in the strict enforcement of the over-stringent and artificial rules of Sandhi or Euphony, which affect alike vowels and consonants, and which do not, *e.g.*, permit a word in the middle of a sentence to begin with a vowel. Local differences in pronunciation exist in India as well as in other countries. Amongst these the interchanges between *tenues* and *mediae* are most common; we find them in Wales and in German Saxony, where the tenues *p*, *t*, and *k* are to this day confounded with the mediae *b*, *d*, and *g*, or *vice versâ*.

The three Dravidian *l*'s (*l* ல், *ḷ* ள் and *ḻ* ழ்) however differently they may be pronounced, are only varieties of the same sound and are therefore interchangeable, thus, *e.g.*, the Sanskrit *phalam* becomes in Tamil *palam* பலம், or *paḻam* பழம், while *mallam* மல்லம் becomes *maḷḷam* மள்ளம், *veḷḷāḷan* வெள்ளாளன் is also spelt *veḷḷāḻan* வெள்ளாழன், and a village or town is called *palli* பல்லி (*valli* வல்லி), *paḷḷi* பள்ளி, or *pāḻi* பாழி. The harsher sound is generally used by the lower classes, and where these pronounce an ல் *l* or ள் *ḷ*, a high caste-man will lisp a ழ் *ḻ*, which letter is probably a modern innovation prevailing specially in Malayālam and Tamil.

As the different *l*'s interchange between each other, so do the two Dravidian *r* and *ṟ*;[2] a hard double ற்ற *ṟṟ* is pronounced in Tamil somewhat like a double *ṭṭ*,[3] which circum-

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[2] Tamil ர் and ற், Telugu ర and ఱ, Kanarese ರ and ಱ, Malayālam ര and റ.

[3] The Tamil ற்ற் is represented occasionally in Telugu by ట్ట, *e.g.*, the Tamil புற்று, *puṟṟu*, corresponds to the Telugu పుట్ట *puṭṭa*.

stance is a proof of the relationship between the *r* and *ṭ* sounds. After this statement the permutation between the lingual *ḍ* and the *r* and *l* sounds will not create any surprise. Some of these changes are pretty common elsewhere; they occur in the Aryan as well as in the Dravidian languages.

A further peculiarity of the Dravidian languages, and especially of Tamil, is their dislike to beginning words with compound letters: *Brahma* becomes Piramam, பிரமம்; *prabandha*, pirapantam, பிரபந்தம்; *grantha*, kirantam, கிரந்தம். In consequence of indistinct pronunciation and the desire for abbreviation, initial and medial consonants are often dropped at the beginning or in the middle of words, while on the other hand in opposition to this tendency a half-consonant is prefixed to an initial vowel, in order to prevent a word from beginning with a vowel. We thus occasionally meet words whose initial consonants are dropped and replaced by half-consonants, *e.g.*, *vella*, white, in Telugu becomes *ella* and *yella*, *vesa*, haste, *esa* and *yesa*, the name of the *Billavar* of Travancore becomes Ilavar and Yilavar; Vēlūr becomes Ēlūr and Yēlūr. This practice of prefixing a half-consonant before an initial vowel is generally enforced in the middle of a sentence, —a *y* is thus placed before an *a, e, i,* and *ai* and a *v* before *o, u,* and *au.* The half-consonant is used to avoid an hiatus and this explains why the University-degrees M.A. and B.A. are pronounced by many Natives *Yam Ya* and *Be Ya.* Metathesis is likewise of not unfrequent occurrence in the Dravidian languages. It is even found in words of common occurrence, in *kurudai*, *e.g.*, for *kudirai*, horse; in *Marudai* for the town Madura; in *Verul* for Elōra (Vēlūr or Ballōra); in *Vaikāśam* (வைகாசம்) and *Vaikāśi* (வைகாசி) for *Vaiśākham* and *Vaiśākhi*; in the Telugu *agapa* and *abaka*, ladle, &c.

Another peculiarity is to drop one of two consonants in a syllable and to lengthen the vowel if it happens to be short, or to double a consonant and to shorten the vowel,

if it happens to be long; *e.g.*, చెయ్యుట *ceyyuṭa* for చేయుట *cēyuṭa*, *Veḷḷāḷan* for *Vēḷāḷan*, *Palla* for *Pāla*, &c.

It will be readily perceived that this laxity of pronunciation affords a wide field for philological conjectures, and that, if we choose as an example the representative name of the *Malla* or *Palla* tribe, a variety of forms for *Mara* and *Malla*, or *Para* and *Palla*, which actually occur, can be retraced to the common source, and thus be shown to have a sound basis. The task which a philologist has to perform is a serious one and ought to make him cautious. Considerable and unexpected difficulties also arise from the great similarity of many Sanskrit and Dravidian words with *Mara*, *Malla* and their derivatives.[4] The explanations of names of persons, tribes, places, &c., so readily tendered by the Natives

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[4] A few of such similar words are in *Sanskrit* : *para*, other, *pala*, m., straw, n., flesh, *pala*, m., barn, *pallava*, m., n., sprout, *palvala*, m., pond, *pāla*, m., guard, *pula* great, *phala*, n., fruit, *phāla*, m., n., ploughshare, *phulla*, open, *bala*, n., power, *bali*, m., oblation, *bāla*, young, *bhāla*, n., forehead, *mara*, killing, *mala*, n., dirt, *malli*, f., jasmine, *māra*, killing, *māla*, n., field, *mālā*, f., garland, *valla*, covering, *vallabha*, m., lover, *valli* (ī), f., creeper, &c.; in *Tamil*: *alam*, plough, *alli*, lily, *alliyam*, village of herdsmen, *aḻai*, cave, *ālam*, water, *palar* (*pallār*), many persons, *palam*, strength, fruit, flesh, *pali*, sacrifice, *pal*, tooth, *pallam*, bear, arrow, *palli*, lizard, *paḻam*, old, *paḻam*, fruit, *paḻi*, blame, *paḷai*, hole, *paḷḷam*, lowness, *paḷḷayam* (*paḷḷaiyam*), offering to demons, *paḷḷaicci*, dwarfish woman, *pāl*, milk, *pālam*, bridge, *pālar*, herdsmen, *pālai*, arid, *pāḻi*, cave, village, *pāḷayam* (*pāḷaiyam*) country, camp, *pāḻi*, encampment, *pāḷai*, palmtree, *pilli*, demon, *pulam*, ricefield, *pulāl*, flesh, *pulai*, flesh, *pul*, meanness, *pullu*, grass, *pullam*, ignorant, *puḻḻi*, lizard, *malam*, excretion, *malar*, flower, *malai*, hill, *mal*, boxing, *mallam*, strength, *malli*, jasmine, *mallu*, wrestling, *maḻai*, rain, *maḷḷam*, strength, *māḷ*, greatness, *mullai*, jasmine, *muḷ*, *muḷḷu*, thorn, *mēl*, above, *valam*, rightside, *valam*, power, *vali*, strength, *valu*, strong, *valai*, net, *vallar*, strong persons, *vallapan*, beloved, *vallavan*, shepherd, *valli*, woman, village, *valliyam*, village of shepherds, *vaḻuti*, poetical epithet of the Pāṇḍya kings, *vaḷappam*, *vaḷamai*, *vaḷam*, *vaḷan*, strength, *vaḷavan*, epithet of Cōḻa, *vaḷḷam*, corn measure, *vaḻḻiyam*, pipe, pepper, *vāḻai*, plantain, *vāḷ*, sword, *vil*, bow, *villi*, Manmatha, *veḷ*, white, *veḻḻam*, inundation, *veḷḷi*, silver, *vēl*, lance, *vēli*, village, *vēḻam*, sugarcane-reed, &c.; in *Telugu*: *ala*, wave, *ala* (*alla*), then, *alli*, water, lily, *alle*, bowstring, *ela*, young, *ella*, all, limit, white (*vella*), *palla* (*pulla*), red, reddish, *pāḻemu*, camp, *paḻḻemu*, saucer, *pāla*, name of a tree, white, jay, *pālu*, share, milk, *pilla*, child, *pilli*, cat, *puli* (*pulla*), sour, *puli*, tiger, *pulu* (*pullu*), grass, *pulla*, piece, *balla*, bench, *bhāḷi*, affection, *mala*, mountain, *malamu*, dirt, *malu*, again, *malla*

of India and seemingly supported by some legendary and historical evidence, must be viewed with extreme caution and distrust. It is not an uncommon occurrence to make a statement of this kind, and afterwards to invent corroborative evidence. This is often not done with any desire to mislead, but rather because it affords a fair display for speculative ingenuity. If, *e.g.*, a rich man of a high caste acquires a Paṟaicēri, he will alter its name so as to hide the low origin of his property and to impart to it a sacred appearance. Near Madras is situated the well-known hill called St. Thomas' Mount. Its name in Tamil is Paraṅgi Malai or Mountain of the Franks or Europeans, from the original European or rather Portuguese settlement. Some years ago a Brahman settlement was established there and the name of Paraṅgi Malai was no longer deemed respectable. Thenceforth it was changed to Bhṛṅgi Malai, the mountain of the sacred Bhṛṅgi, and eventually in support of this appellation legendary evidence was not slow in forthcoming.[5]

(*malli*) again, *malle* (*mallelu*), jasmine, *māla* (*māle*, *mālika*), garland, *māli*, gardener, *māle*, house, *mulu* (*mullu*), thorn, *mūle*, corner, *mella*, hall, *mēlamu*, fun, *mēlu*, good, upper, *maila*, unclean, *vala*, right, net, *valla*, stratagem, *valle*, noose, *vāli*, custom, *vālu*, long, sword, *vilu* (*villu*), bow, *vīlu*, expedient, *vela*, price, *vella*, white, *velluva*, flood, *vēla*, limit, *vēḻa*, time, *vēlu* 1000, toe, &c.

Considering the changes the letters undergo in Dravidian words, when *paḻḻāḍu*, goat, is also written *veḻḻāḍu* and *pala*, flesh, becomes *pulai* and *Vallūru* is also written *Vālūru*, *Vellūru*, *Yellūru*, &c., similar alterations need not create any great surprise, especially if it is admitted that small orthographical changes assist their being the more easily distinguished. As an illustration how the names of the Mallas and Pallas appear in local appellations I only add as an example a few such names as Mallapur, Pallapur, Ballapur, Vallapur, Yallapur, Allapur, Ellapur, Vellapur, Yellapur, Illapur, Villapur, Vollūru, Ullapur, Vullapur, Mālavūr, Pālavūr, Balapur, Vālapur, Yālapetta, Ēlapur, Ēlavūr, Vēlapur, Yēlagiri, &c., &c.

[5] An example of the spurious character of similar writings is exhibited by the Sthalapurāṇa that contains the origin of the *Gunnybag-weavers*, which, though of recent origin, is by some incorporated in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.

A curious instance of the alteration of a name is supplied by the Barber's bridge near St. Thomé in Madras. It was originally named *Hamilton's*

It might appear that when so many changes are possible, no reliance can be placed on such evidence, but these permutations do not all take place at the same time, indeed dialectical pronunciation selects some letters in preference to others. The northern Hindu pronounces, a *B*, where the southern prefers a *V*, and both letters occur only in border districts ; thus no *B* is found in the names of such places situated in the Chingleput, South-Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevelly, and Malabar districts, while in South-Kanara, Ganjam and Mysore a *V* is seldom used.

These few preliminary philological remarks are absolutely necessary to facilitate the understanding of the subsequent discussion. The important position which language occupies in such a research as the present was well pointed out more than forty years ago, by the Pioneer of North-Indian Ethnology, the learned B. H. Hodgson, when he wrote in the preface to his first Essay : "And the more I see of these primitive races the stronger becomes my conviction that there is no medium of investigation yielding such copious and accurate data as their languages."

Historical Remarks.

Turning from these linguistic to historical topics, we know as a fact that when tracing the records of any nation or country as far back as possible, we arrive at a period when all authentic or provable accounts cease. We have then reached the prehistoric stage. What occurred during that epoch can never be verified. When the mist of historic darkness disappears from the plains and mountains of a country, the existing inhabitants and their dwellings become

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bridge after a gentleman of that name. The word *Hamilton*, being difficult to pronounce in Tamil, was changed into *amaṭṭan* (common form for *ampaṭṭan*) which means in Tamil a *barber*, whence by retranslation into English the bridge was called Barber's bridge.

visible, but whether these are in reality the first settlers and their abodes the first erected, is another question which does not properly belong to the domain of history, so long as we are unable to assert its relevancy or to find an answer to it. Whether the people of whom we first hear in a country are really its aborigines may be doubtful; but so long as no earlier inhabitants can be discovered, they must be regarded as such. So far as historical traces can be found in the labyrinth of Indian antiquity, it was the Gauda-Dravidians who lived and tilled the soil and worked the mines in India.

This discussion does not concern the so-called Kolarian tribes, whose connection with the ancient history of India is so very obscure, that we possess hardly any historical accounts about them.

However considerable and apparently irreconcilable may appear the differences exhibited by the various Gauda-Dravidian tribes in their physical structure and colour, in their language, religion, and art, all these differences can be satisfactorily accounted for by the physical peculiarities of the localities they inhabited, by the various occupations they followed, and by the political status which regulated their domestic and social habits. For every one must be aware of the fact that change of abode and change in position havo worked, and are working, the most marvellous alterations in the physical and mental constitution of individuals and nations. Language, especially the spirit which pervades it, is the most enduring witness of the connection which exists between nations, and with its help we can often trace the continuity of descent from the same stock in tribes seemingly widely different.

From the north-west across to the north-east, and from both corners to the furthest south, the presence of the Gauda-Dravidian race in India can be proved at a very early period. On the arrival of the Aryans on the north-western frontier, the Gauda-Dravidians are already found in flourishing

communities. But successive waves of the Aryan invasion, swelled in their course by the accession of former opponents who had despaired of successful resistance, must soon have flooded over the Gauda-Dravidian settlements. Some by their prowess were able to maintain their ground against the invaders, while others, defeated, left their abodes and emigrated towards the South. Yet even the North, subject though it became in time to the Aryan or rather Brahmanical sway, can never be said to have been totally conquered by force of arms. Still less was this the case with the South, where the Brahmanical influence always assumed a more civic and priestly character; influence, which though of another kind, can hardly be deemed less powerful, since it is more lasting and more thorough. Even the Aryanised languages of North-India—however they may prove the mental superiority of the invaders who were able to force on their defeated foes their peculiar mode of thinking—manifest their origin in their vocabularies and show the inability of the victors to press on the vanquished their own language. The languages of both, victors and vanquished, amalgamated and formed new dialects, and the difference which exists between the abstract synthetic Sanskrit and the concrete agglutinated Dravidian is clearly expressed. This difference is easily observable when we compare on the one hand the construction of Sanskrit with that of such Aryanised languages, as Bengāli and Marāthi, which possess a considerable substratum of a non-Aryan element, and on the other hand the construction of Latin with that of the Neo-latin languages French and Spanish, which may be considered as entirely Aryan. I have alluded to this fact in my "Classification of Languages." Hindustāni is a fair specimen of such a miscegenation of languages.

The earliest mention of a Gauda-Dravidian word is to be found in the Bible. In the first book of Kings, x. 22, we read as follows: *For the king had at sea a navy of Tharshish*

with the navy of Hiram ; once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks."[6] The expression for peacocks is *tukkiyyīm*, a word derived from the Gauda-Dravidian *toka* (*tokai* or *togai*), which originally signifies the tail of a peacock and eventually a peacock itself. It exists in Telugu, Tamil, Malayālam, Kanarese, Gondi and elsewhere. The identification of *tukki* (*tūki*) with *tokai* is very old indeed, and is already quoted as well known in the early editions of the Hebrew dictionary of Wilhelm Gesenius.[7] The mere fact that the sailors of Solomon and Hiram designated a special Indian article by a Gauda-Dravidian word, renders it probable that the inhabitants with whom they traded were Gauda-Dravidians and that Gauda-Dravidian was the language of the country. The Aryan influence could at that time hardly have been strong enough to supplant the current vernacular, or to force upon it a Prakritised Aryan term. Moreover, the peacock is a well-known bird, common all over India, and it is highly improbable that the Gauda-Dravidians should have waited for the arrival of the Aryans to name it, or should have dropped their own term in order to adopt in its stead an Aryan one. The vocal resemblance between the Hebrew *kōph* and the Sanskrit *kapi* is most likely accidental. The ancient Egyptians, who kept monkeys in their temples, called a monkey *kāf*. Besides it cannot at all be assumed that the sailors of the fleet of Tharshish did not know monkeys. May not *kōph*, *kāf*, *kapi*, &c., after all be an *Onomatopoiëtikon ?* Another word which proves the connection of the Gauda-Dravidians with foreign nations is supplied by

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[6] The Hebrew words in 1 Kings, x. 22, are: *Oni Tharṣīṣ nōsēth sāhāb vākeseph ṣenhabbīm veqōphīm vethukkiyyīm.* 2 Chronicles, ix. 21, has a long *ū* and reads *vethūkkiyyīm.* The derivation of *ṣenhabbīm* is still doubtful.

[7] See also my lecture *On the Ancient Commerce of India*, p. 25. The derivation of *Almuggīm* or *Algūmmīm* from *valgu* as the sandalwood is called in different places, 1 Kings, x. 11, 12, and 2 Chronicles, ii. 7 ; ix. 10, 11, is very doubtful, and I hesitate to derive it from Sanskrit.

the Greek word *oryza* for rice, which corresponds to the Gauda-Dravidian *ariśi*, and not to the Sanskrit *vrīhi*.[8]

The Aryan invaders showed little sympathy with the inhabitants they found on the confines and in the interior of India. The outward appearance of the Dāsas or Dasyus—these were the names with which the new-comers honoured their opponents—was not such as to create a favourable impression, and they were in consequence taunted with their black colour and flat noses, which latter made their faces appear as if they had no noses. Indra is invoked to reduce into the darkness of subjection the colour of the Dāsas and to protect the colour of his worshippers, for the latter were not always successful in the combats, and the Dāsas at times turned the tables on their foes by becoming victorious aggressors.

So far as civilisation is concerned, a great difference could hardly have existed between the two races when they first met. However rude may have been the bulk of the indigenous population, a considerable portion of it must have already attained a certain degree of cultivation. It was no doubt the wealth which they had acquired that stimulated the invaders to pursue their conquests, even when a brave

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[8] See my lecture *On the Ancient Commerce of India*, p. 37 : "Of grains *Rice* formed an important commodity. The cultivation of rice extended in ancient times only as far west as to Bactria, Susiana, and the Euphrates valley. The Greeks most likely obtained their rice from India, as this country alone produced it in sufficient quantity to be able to export it. Moreover the Grecian name for rice *oryza*, for which there exists no Aryan or Sanskrit root, has been previously identified by scholars with the Tamil word *ariśi*, which denotes rice deprived of the husk. This was exactly the state in which rice was exported. The Greeks besides connected rice generally with India. Athenæos quotes *oryza hephthē*, cooked rice, as the food of the Indians, and Aelianus mentions a wine made of rice as an Indian beverage. If now the Greek received their rice from India, and the name they called this grain by is a Dravidian word, we obtain an additional proof of the non-Aryan element represented in the Indian trade."

Arṣi, rice, occurs also in Keikadi, and *ariselu*, ricecakes, in Telugu.

and stubborn resistance warned the Aryans not to drive to despair the various chieftains who had retreated to their mountain strongholds. The bravery of the Dāsas excited the admiration of their opponents. Indra himself occasionally protects the Dāsas, the Aryan priest deigns to accept his offering, and the divine Aśvins partake even of his food. Though both the terms *Dasyu* and *Dāsa* originally denote a destroyer, at times a malevolent superhuman being, and at times in contrast to *Ārya*, an enemy of the gods or a wicked man, and are in this sense specially applied to the aboriginal races who stood outside the Brahmanical pale, yet the expression *Dāsa* continued to be contemptuously used by one Aryan against another, till it became in time equivalent to a common menial or slave.

Division between Gaudians and Dravidians.

The foemen whom the Aryans first encountered were generally brave mountaineers who offered a stout resistance in their numerous castles. Indeed, most tribal names of the inhabitants of India will be shown to refer to mountains.

The two special Gauda-Dravidian terms for mountain are *mala* (*malai*, *pār*, *pāṟāi*, &c.) and *ko* (*koṇḍa*, *kuṟu*, *kunṟu*, *kora*, &c.). Both kinds of expressions are widely used and prevail throughout India. Hence are derived the names of the *Mallas*, *Mālas*, *Mālavas*, *Malayas*,[9] &c., and of the *Kōyis*, *Kōdulu*, *Koṇḍas*, *Goṇḍas*, *Gauḍas*, *Kuruvas*, &c. I shall in future call those tribes whose names are derived from *mala* Dravidians, and those whose names are derived from *ko* Gaudians.

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[9] Concerning the single and double *l* which is found respectively in Malaya, Malla and in their derivatives, it should be considered that the Dravidian languages do not possess fixed orthographical rules regarding proper names and that single and double letters are often used indifferently. A mountaineer is thus generally described in South-India as *Malayan* or *Malaiyan*, while *Maḻḻan* also denotes an inhabitant of a mountainous district.

PART I.

THE DRAVIDIANS.

CHAPTER II.

The names of Ancient Kings and Asuras indicate the names of the people over whom they ruled.

Among the tribes and people whom I regard as Dravidians, whose names are derived either directly from *Mala* or from cognate terms, and who are of the same race as the *Mallas* or *Pallas*, which term is chosen on p. 34 as their representative designation, I may mention the Māras (Mhārs, Mahārs, Mahāras or Mālas), Māris, Maṛavar, Pariahs, Parjas, Paravar, Paravārī, *Πωρουάροι*, Pāratas, *Παροῦται*, Pāradas, Parheyas, Bārs (Bhārs, *Βάῤῥαι*), Brahuis; the Mallas (*Μαλλοί*, Malli), Mālas (Māls or Māras), Mala Arayar, Malacar, Malayālis, Mālavas, (Mālvas), Mālair (Māler or Pahārias), Mallar or Pallar, the Palliyar, Polaiyar, Pulayar, Holiyar, Pulindas (*Πουλῖνδαι*), Puṇḍras, Pallis, Pālas, Pālis, Pallavas (Palhavas, Pahlavas, Pahnavas, Plavas), Pāṇḍyas, Ballas, Bhallas, Bhīls (Bhillas, *Φυλλῖται*), Bhillālas, Ballālas, Vellālar, Velamas (Vallamas, Vallambams), Valluvar, &c.[10]

The Ṛgvēda only rarely confers special names on the Indians who opposed the Aryans, and these names wherever they occur cannot be easily recognised and explained.

On the other hand the Indian gods adopted, particularly in later times, the names of the demons they had defeated in

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[10] The Māvēlla or *Māvēllaka* whom Lassen in his *Indische Alterthumskunde* (vol. I, p. 751, or 605) identifies with the Megalloi of Megasthenes as occupying Mārwār, might perhaps be added to this list.

combat in order to perpetuate the memory of their victories. A natural assumption leads one to infer that the names of the conquered demons or Asuras represent those of the forces they led to battle, and that the Asuras Malla, Bala, Bali, Bāla, Bāli or Vāli, Vala [11] and others were chiefs of the aboriginal race.

Kṛṣṇa is thus called Mallāri,[12] the enemy or destroyer of the Asura *Malla*; Indra is renowned as Valadviṣ or Valanāśana, enemy or destroyer of the demon *Vala*,[13] the brother of Vṛtra, and as Balanāśana and Balārāti, enemy or destroyer of *Bala*.[14] Viṣṇu goes by the name of Balidhvaṁsin,[15] for he defeated the great giant king *Bali* in the shape of a dwarf in the Vāmana Avatāra. Rāma covers his name with doubtful glory by killing in unfair fight the mighty so-called monkey-king *Bāli* or Vāli, the brother of Sugrīva; hence Rāma's name Bālihantṛ.

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[11] Though *Vala* need not be taken in the Ṛgvēda as a demon, he is regarded as such in later works. He may perhaps have been confounded later on with Bala.

[12] *Mallāri* or *Malhārī* is in the Marātha country regarded as an incarnation of Śiva, and is also called Khaṇḍōbā.

[13] Or Valabhit, Valavṛtraghna, Valavṛtrahan, Valasūdana, Valahantṛ, and Valārāti.

[14] Or Balaniṣūdana, Balabhit and Balasūdana.

[15] Or Balindama, Balibandhana and Balihan. *Bali* or Mahābali was the son of *Virōcana* and father of *Bāṇa*. He ruled over the three worlds, established, according to the Matsya-Purāṇa, at the desire of Brahma, the four castes, and was eventually reduced by Viṣṇu to become the king of Pātāla. He is still the most popular legendary king among the whole Hindu population, especially in South-India. We find a *Mahābalipura* on the *Son* river in the North, and near Madras in the South. The people remember to this day the prosperity enjoyed under his sway. Once a year Bali is said to visit the earth, but this visit is not celebrated simultaneously throughout India. His greatest feast falls on the fullmoon in the month of Kārttiki, when the corn standing in the fields, the cow-houses, wells, and particularly the dwelling-houses, are illuminated with lamps. In Mysore popular songs are sung in his praise on the last day of the Navarātri. The Hindu people worship him also during the Pongal, when gourds (in Sanskrit *kūṣmāṇḍa*) are given to Brahmans. Bali is worshipped in Malabar on the Ōṇam festival. He does not die and is one of the seven Cirajīvins.

Beginning of Peaceful Intercourse and Intermarriage between Aryans and Dravidians.

With the decrease of the Aryan immigration into India, their actual conquests ceased and the new comers, once established in the country, devised more peaceful means to perpetuate and extend their power. Colonists and missionaries visited the hitherto unapproached provinces and tried to win by their superior knowledge and civilisation the good will of the natives. Intermarriage recommended itself as the most efficient means to gain this object, though the race-pride of the conquering nation shrank from such misalliances.

In order to sanction them the example of the gods was needed, and Subrahmaṇya, the South-Indian representative of Kārttikēya, the son of Śiva, who delights to reside in wild forests and weird mountain tops is credited with having chosen a South-Indian girl called *Vaḻḻi*[16] as his wife. Vaḻḻi is a well-known female name common among the Pariahs and Paḻḻar, the Paḻḻis and other Śūdras, and corresponds to the equally-widely used man's name Malla. Vaḻḻi is also celebrated as the Amman of Vaiṣṇava gods.[17] The

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[16] He is the presiding deity of many mountains, as *Tirupparaṅkunṟan*, *Cāmimalai* (or Paḻani), *Cōḻaimalai*, &c., and is thus, among other titles, called the ruler of the Paḻani mountain, Paḻani Āṇḍī or Āṇḍavar.

Two wives are generally assigned to Subrahmaṇya. They are called Dēvasēnā (contracted in colloquial Tamil into Tēvānai) and Vaḻḻi. (Vaḻli-Dēvasēnāsamēta-Subrahmaṇyasvāminē namaḥ.) Subrahmaṇya is therefore also called in Tamil *Vaḻḻimaṇ(av)āḷan*, or husband of Vaḻḻi.

[17] The popular derivation of Triplicane (Tiruvallikkēni) is from *Alli*, அல்லி, a kind of water lily; which explanation I believe to be wrong. According to the Sthalapurāṇa of Triplicane *Nārada* goes to Kailāsa to ascertain from Paramēśvara the position of Bṛndāraṇya which lies north-east of Tirunīrmalai near Pallāvaram. The sage Bhṛgu lived there near a pond full of lotus, called Kairaviṇī. He worshipped the 5 gods of the place, especially Raṅganātha, who slept under a sandal tree. Near it Bhṛgu found a little girl whom he gave to his wife to nurse. He called her *Vēdavalli*, and married her in due time as Vēdavalli Tāyār to Raṅganāthasvāmi, &c. The ancient temple tank in Triplicane is called *Vēdavallipuṣkariṇī*.

principal goddess in Triplicane, who, as Amman presides over the Kṣētram and to whom the temple-compound belongs, is Vēdavalli. The god Pārthasārathi is only lodging there as her guest.[18] In Tiruvallūr the Amman is called Kanakavalli, in Chidambaram Paṅkajavalli, in Śrīmuṣṇam Ambujavalli, in Kumbhakōnam there are two, a Kōmalavalli and a Vijayavalli, in Mannārguḍi a Campakavalli, and in Tirumāliruñcōlai as well as in Nāgapatam there is a Sundaravalli, &c. The derivation of Va̤l̤i in these names from the Sanskrit *Valli*, creeper, appears doubtful, especially if one considers that Subrahmaṇya's wife, Va̤l̤i, was a low-caste South-Indian woman, that the Śaiva preceded the Vaiṣṇava creed, and that Śaiva temples were occasionally turned into Vaiṣṇava temples. Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva and daughter of the mountain Himālaya, is even worshipped as a Pariah woman in her disguise as Mātaṅgī. This word is derived from Mātaṅga, which signifies a wild mountaineer.[19]

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[18] The difference between *Amman* and *Ammāḻ* (both meaning mother) is that the former expression refers only to goddesses, while the latter is applied both to goddesses and mortal women.

[19] The Śyāmalādaṇḍaka ascribed to Kālidāsa contains the following ślōka concerning Mātaṅgī :—

Māṇikyavīṇām upalālayantīm
  madalasām mañjulavāgvilāsām
Mahēndranilōpalakōmalāṅgīm
  Mātaṅgakanyām manasā smarāmi.

It is perhaps not impossible that there exists a connection between *Mātaṅga* and *Mālaṅga*. The *d* and the *l* are occasionally interchanged, compare the Greek δάκρυ with the Latin *lacryma*. The Malayālis consistently pronounce a *l* instead of a *t*, *e.g.*, for *tasmāt kāraṇāt* they say *tasmāl kāraṇāl*. In Marāṭhi the word Mātaṅga has been contracted into Māṅga, see p. 94. Compare also the Dravidian roots *paḻa* and *paṇḍu*, old. Telugu has besides *paṇḍu* also *pāta*.

The Amarakōśa, II, Śūdravarga (X) 20, 21, contains the following ślōkas concerning the Mātaṅga and other out-castes.

Caṇḍāla-Plava-Mātaṅga-Divākirti-Janaṅgamāḥ
Niṣāda-Śvapacāv-Antēvāsi-Cāṇḍāla-Pukkasāḥ
Bhēdāḥ Kirāta-Śabara-Pulindā Mlēcchajātayaḥ.

CHAPTER III.

The Mallas.

The name of the Mallas appears in various forms in Sanskrit literature. As the name of a *people*, we meet it in Malaka, Malada, Malaja, Malla, Mallaka, Mallava, Māla, Mālava, Mālavarti, &c.; as the name of a *demon* in Malayaja (Rāhu), Malla (perhaps also if not connected with *mālā*, garland, in Mālyavān and Mālinī), &c.; as the name of a *human being* in Malayakētu, Malayadhvaja, Malayanarapati, Malayaprabha, Malayasiṁha, Malayagandhinī, Malayavāsinī, Mālavī, &c.; as the name of a *country* in Malaya, Malayadēśa, Malayabhūmi, Mallabhūmi, Mallarāṣṭra, Māla, Mālava, Mālavadēśa, Mālavaka, &c.; as the name of a *mountain* or *mountain-range* in Malakūṭa, Malaya, Malayaparvata, Malayabhūbhṛt, Malayācala, Malayādri, Mālyavān, &c.; as the name of a *river* in Mālavī, &c.; as the name of a *town* in Malayapura, Mallapura, Mallavāstu, Mallaprastha, &c.; as the name of a *plant* in Malayaja, Malayadruma, Malayōdbhava (sandal); Mallaja (Vēllaja, black pepper), &c., &c.

If we include in this list some variations of the sound *Malla*, we may mention the three mind-born sons of Brahma, the famous Prajāpatis *Marīci*, *Pulaha*, and *Pulastya*, who had among their progeny the most reputed Daityas or Rākṣasas, as well as the demon *Pulōman*, whom Indra killed, in order to obviate the curse pronounced against him for his having violated Pulōman's daughter *Śacī*. The name *Marīci* occurs also among the Daityas, *Maraka* among the nations, and *mallaja*, black pepper, is likewise called *marica* or *marīca*.

Maru means in Sanskrit a desert and a mountain, and the expression *Marubhū* is specially applied to Mārwār, but its inhabitants as well as the Mhārs are the representatives

of an old Dravidian stock, like their namesakes the Maṟavar, மறவர், in South-India. It is in itself very improbable, that these tribes should have obtained their name from a foreign source, and it would not be very venturesome to conjecture without any further authentic proof, that there existed in the ancient Dravidian dialect a word *mar* or *marai* for mountain, corresponding to the synonymous Tamil words *pār* and *pāṟai*. And in fact *mar* in the language of the original inhabitants of Mārwār means *hill*, and the Mārs or Mhārs are in reality *hill men*.[20]

The Mallas, as a nation, are repeatedly mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa, in various Purāṇas, the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, the Lalitavistara and elsewhere. Mallabhūmi and Mallarāṣṭra, which as well as Malayabhūmi refer to the northern parts of India, occur in the Rāmāyāṇa and Mahābhārata. The Siddhāntakaumudī mentions in a passage that refers to Pāṇini, V. 3, 114, the *Mallāḥ* instead of *Bhallāḥ*, which latter expression is found in the commentary to Dr. O. v. Böhtlingk's edition of Pāṇini. This quotation is significant as the Bṛhatsaṁhitā mentions likewise the Bhallas, who represent the modern Bhillas or Bhīls. Bhalla and Bhilla are identical with Malla and are only different pronunciations or formations of the same word.

The Mallas are specially brought to our notice by the circumstance that Buddha, the great reformer of India, preferred to die among the Mallas in Kuśinagara. The citizens, when they heard of the arrival of the dying saint, met him sorrowfully, and among the last acts of Buddha was that he appointed the Malla Subhadra as an Arhat. This connection of Buddha with the Mallas appears strange and

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[20] See Lieut.-Col. James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*; London, 1829, vol. I, p. 680: The *Mair* or *Mēra* is the mountaineer of Rajpootana, and the country he inhabits is styled *Mairwarra*, or "the region of hills."

strengthens the doubt whether Buddha was an Aryan at all. His name of Śākyamuni and his relationship with the Śākya race has been taken as a reason to associate his name with the Scythian tribes, who had for some time previously been invading north-western India. However this may be, Buddha's friendship with the Mallas supports his non-Aryan origin. The enmity which existed between the kings of Kōśala and the Śākya princes is of itself significant, leaving altogether out of consideration the question whether Buddha was a prince or not. Moreover the inimical position which Buddhism soon assumed towards Brahmanism, the great hold the former took on the non-Brahmanical population, which rushed to be received into its fold, makes the conjecture of Buddha's non-Aryan origin rather probable.

Another branch of the Mallas came into collision with Alexander the Great, while he was progressing towards the South along the valley of the Indus. In the fight which ensued during his attack on their city he was, as is well known, severely wounded. This happened not far from the present Multan, which word I assume to denote Mallasthāna, the place of the Mallas, not Mūlasthāna, as has been assumed hitherto. In fact Sir Alexander Burnes states in his *Travels into Bokhara* (vol. III, p. 114) that "Mooltan is styled 'Malli than,' or 'Mali tharun' the place of the Malli, to this day."

Malayakētu, the son of the mountain king Pārvataka, who figures in the drama Mudrārākṣasa, represents the northern branch of the Mallas, settled in Malayabhūmi, near the Himālaya while the Pāṇḍya kings Malayadhvaja, Malayanarapati, Malayaprabha, Malayasiṁha and others are representatives of the south.

Even to this day the name of the Mallas is preserved among the population all over India, for the Mālas (Māls),

Mala Arayar or Malai Araśar, Malacar,[21] Malayālis, Malāvas (Mālvas), Mālair (Māler or Pahārias), Maḻḻar, Mārs (Māras, Mhārs, Mahārs, Mahāras), Maris, Maṟavar, &c., as they are named in different places, are found scattered all over the country.

The word Malla also shows in its various meanings all the vicissitudes to which individuals and nations are alike exposed. When the bearers of the name were prosperous in the enjoyment of wealth and power, kings were proud to combine the term *Malla* with their own appellation in order to add further splendour to themselves, so that the word *Mallaka* assumed also the meaning of royal, as in the Mṛcchakaṭika;[22] yet when the wheel of fortune turned and the star of the Mallas had sunk beneath the horizon, the former term of honour became degraded into a byname of opprobrium and was applied to the lowest population, so that Mālavāḍu is in modern Telugu the equivalent of Pariah.

Still the recollection of former splendour is not forgotten and is cherished among the Pariahs or Mālas. The Pariahs or Mahārs of the Marātha country claim thus to have once been the rulers of Mahārāṣṭra. And this is not improbable, for not only are the Mahārs found all over the country, but philological evidence is also in their favour. An old tradition divides the Drāviḍa and Gauḍa Brahmans into

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[21] See Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I, pp. 433, 434 (364), note 1: "Die *Malasir* (*Malliars*, *Journal of the R.A.S.*, II, 336) im Waldgebirge Malabars, haben keine Brahmanen oder Guru, verehren als ihren Gott Mallung einen Stein. Auch die Pariar Malabar's haben in ihren Tempeln nur Steine." "Each village (of the Mala Arayar) has its priest, who, when required, calls on the Hill (*Mala*), which means the demon resident there;" see *Native Life in Travancore*, by the Rev. S. Mateer, p. 77. See note 28.

[22] Compare such names as Yuddhamalla, Jagadēkamalla, Trailōkamalla, Ahavamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c. See about the *Malla Era*, *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. VIII, p. 203 ff, and about *Mallaka*, Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. I, p. 134.

five classes. The Ślōkas which contain this statement are as follows:—

Mahārāṣṭrāndhradrāviḍāḥ karṇāṭāścaiva gurjarāḥ
Drāvidāḥ pañcadhā prōktā Vindhyadakṣinavāsinaḥ.
Sārasvatāḥ kānyakubjā gauḍōtkalāśca maithilāḥ
Gauḍāḥ pañcavidhā prōktā Vindhyāduttaravāsinaḥ.

Except the term *Mahārāṣṭra*, all the other names refer to Indian tribes. It may be presumed therefore that this is true likewise in the case of Mahārāṣṭra, and that this name should not be explained by "Great Kingdom." Mahārāṣṭra was also called Mallarāṣṭra, the country of the Mallas. The Mallas are the same as the Māras, who are better known as Mārs or Mhārs. Mhār was eventually transformed into Mahār; in fact both forms exist in modern Marāthi. Two terms identical in meaning *Mallarāṣṭra* and *Mahārāṣṭra* were thus used. The former dropped into oblivion, and with the waning fortunes of the Mahārs, their connection with the name was soon forgotten and Mahārāṣṭra was explained as meaning the "Great Kingdom" instead of the Kingdom of the Mahārs or Mallas. It is indeed curious that the word Pariah has still in Marāthi, the meaning of Mahāra, for the term *Paravārī* corresponds to Pariah, and is used in Marāthi in a general way as a courteous or conciliatory term for a Mahār.[23]

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[23] There exist other Ślōkas about this division. The *Skanda-Purāṇa* contains the abovementioned Ślōkas also in the following form:—

Karṇātāścaiva Drāviḍā Gurjarā Rāṣṭravāsinaḥ
Āndhrāśca Drāviḍaḥ pañca Vindhyadakṣiṇavāsinaḥ.
Sārasvatāḥ Kānyakubjā Gauḍa-Maithilakōtkalāḥ
Pañca Gauḍā iti khyātā Vindhasyōttaravāsinaḥ.

According to Dr. John Wilson: "Maharatta is the Pālī form of Mahārāshṭra, which with the variant reading Mallarāshṭra appears in several of the Purānas. . Now, *Mahārāshṭra* may mean 'the country of the *Mahārs*,' a tribe still known in the province, though in a degraded position, and still so numerous throughout the Marāṭha country that there runs the proverb, *Jenye*

The proper names of *Mallayya* and *Malladu*, common among the Śūdra and Pariah population of Southern India, are occasionally like *Kuppayya* and *Vēmbayya*[24] given among Brahmans and other high-caste people to a boy, when the parents have previously lost two or more children. By this act of humility, displayed in giving a low name to their child, they hope to propitiate the deity and obtain for their offspring the health of a poor man's child. With that object they even throw the infant into a dunghill or *kuppa* (Tamil *kuppai*); a practice which has given rise to the name of Kuppayya.

Step by step the Dravidians receded from Northern India, though they never left it altogether. The Brahmanical supremacy deprived them of their independence, yet not all submitted to Aryan customs and manners. Scattered remains of the Mallas exist, as we have seen, to this day in North-India.

The immense chain of the Vindhya mountains acted as a protecting barrier, otherwise the Dravidians in the south,

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gānva tenye Mahāra vāḍā. 'Wherever there is a village there is the Mahār ward.' The Mahārs are mentioned by the cognomen which they still bear that of Parwārī (Πωρουαροι) by Ptolemy, in the second century of the Christian era; and in his days they were evidently a people of distinct geographical recognition." See Dr. John Wilson's *Notes on the Constituent Elements.. of the Marāṭhī Language*, p. xxiii in the second edition of the *Dictionary Marāṭhi and English*, compiled by J. T. Molesworth, Bombay, 1857.—Consult too Dr. John Wilson's *Indian Caste*, vol. II, p. 48: "The Mahārs, who form one of its (Mahārāshṭra's) old degraded tribes, and are everywhere found in the province say, that Mahārāshṭra means the country of the Mahārs." Compare *Notes on Castes in the Dekhan*, by W. F. Sinclair, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II (1874), p. 130. See also Col. Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 264: "We have a tribe called Māl or Mār, scattered over Sirgūja, Palāmau, Belounja, &c."

In the *Vishṇupurāṇa* of H. H. Wilson, edited by Fitzedward Hall, vol. II, p. 165, Mallarāṣṭra is called *Vallirāṣṭra*, and it is conjectured that *Mallarāṣṭra* may be identical with the Mahārāṣṭra (the Mahratta country) of the Purāṇas.

[24] *Vēmbayya* is called after *Vēmbu*, the Margōsa tree, the representative of bitterness. Death should regard in consequence the child as too bitter and too worthless to carry it off.

unlike their brothers in the north, would not have remained so unmolested. In fact the Vindhya mountains were by degrees recognized as constituting the natural frontier between the Aryanised nations of the north and the Dravidians of the south.

Aryan colonisation progressed slowly in the south. The first missionaries appear to have been only visitors and sojourners not permanent settlers in the country, whence they retraced their steps homewards.

The holy Agastya, according to one tradition[25] a grandson of Brahma, a son of Pulastya, a brother of Viśravas and an uncle of the Rākṣasa king, Rāvaṇa, is said to have remained in the South. Many miraculous deeds are ascribed to this diminutive sage. He is said to have been instrumental in the destruction of the powerful Nahuṣa, to have consumed and digested the Rākṣasa Vātāpi, to have drunk the waters of the ocean, and to have forced the Vindhya mountains to prostrate themselves before him. This last feat was intended to symbolize the fact that he having settled down for good in Drāviḍa, became the originator of Brahmanical colonisation. For he exacted from the insurmountable Vindhya, who was lying at his feet, the promise not to rise again until he had returned and recrossed, and as Agastya did not come back, the Vindhya could not lift its head again, and since then the mountain became passable for future immi-

[25] According to another tradition he was born together with *Vasiṣṭha* in a waterjar (therefore called *Kumbhasambhava*, *Kumbhayōni* and *Ghaṭōdbhava*) as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa (therefore *Maitravāruṇi*) and of the Apsaras *Urvaśī*. In the Svāyambhuva Manvantara the name of Agastya, as the son of Pulastya and Prīti, is *Dattōli*. According to the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa Agastya was the son of Pulastya and of Havirbhū and was called in a previous birth *Dahrāgni* or *Jaṭharagni*. (See *Vishṇupur.*, vol. I, p. 154.) He is also called *Pitābdhi* as Ocean-drinker and *Vātāpidviṣ*, as destroyer of Vātāpi. His abode is fixed on the mountain Kuñjara. Many hymns of the Ṛgvēda are ascribed to him. Lassen (vol. II, p. 23) has pointed out the incongruity of the reports respecting the time when he lived, as he is mentioned both as a contemporary of Anantaguṇa and of Kīrtipūṣaṇa Pāṇḍya.

grants. Agastya's residence is said to have been the mountain Malayam or Potiyam, not far distant from Cape Comorin; in the firmament he shines as the star Canopus. To him is ascribed the civilisation of South-India, in fact the most famous ancient Tamil works in nearly every branch of science, such as divinity, astronomy, grammar, and medicine are attributed to him. In consequence he is specially called the Tamil sage (தமிழ் முனி).

Explanation of the terms Dravida, Tamil and Aravam.

Sanskrit is called in South-India the northern language or *vaṭa moḻi*, வட மொழி, while the Dravidian goes by the name of the southern language, or *ten moḻi* தென் மொழி. Previous researches have established the fact that the words Draviḍa and Tamil are identical in meaning, that both resemble each other in form, and that Tamil seems to be a derivative from Draviḍa. Yet the origin of the word Draviḍa has hitherto not been explained. Though Draviḍa is generally restricted to denote Tamil: *Draviḍa*, *Dramiḍa* or *Dramila* is also applied to denote ancient Malayālam; in fact it is properly speaking applicable to all the Dravidian languages. The word Dramila occurs also in Sanskrit literature. I derive Dramila from *Tirumala* and explain it to signify the *sacred Mala* language, as Sanskrit is κατ' ἐξοχήν the refined Aryan language.

It is immaterial to us whether *Tiru* is an original Dravidian word, or a derivation from the Sanskrit *Śrī*, prosperity. Some of the best Tamil scholars of the past as well as of the present day have declared in favour of *tiru* being a pure Dravidian word, and this has all along been my opinion also. *Tiru* was probably in course of time changed to *tira* or *tara*, then contracted to *tra* or *dra*, and finally to *ta* (*da*), both letters *t* and *d* being identical. The Vēda is called in Tamil *Tiruvāy*, the sacred word, and its Tamil adaptation specially

used by Vaiṣṇavas is the well-known *Tiruvāy Moḻi.* Tiruvāy was eventually changed to *Taravāy*, which is now generally used in the sense of *Vēda-reading.* The word *Ōttu* does thus in Malayālam signify Vēda and Vēda-reading. The *tiru* of *Tiruvaḻḻaṅkōḍu* has been similarly changed to *tra* in Travancore, both alterations—Draviḍa and Travancore—being no doubt due to the same Aryan influence. From Dramala to Dramila, Damila and Tamil is a short step, unless *Tamil* is directly derived from Tirumala. Dramila, Dramiḍa and Draviḍa are Aryan corruptions of Tirumala and found re-admission into the South-Indian languages as foreign expressions, whose signification was forgotten and defied explanation. I recognize the name Tirumala also in the Tāmala or Dāmala of *Dāmalavarubhayam* near *Pāṇḍamaṅgalam* in the Trichinopoly district. Pāṇḍamaṅgalam is regarded as the old capital of the former kings, among whom the name *Tirumala* did not unfrequently occur. *Ubhayam* (உபயம்) is anything offered or devoted to religious purposes, and *Dāmalavarubhayam* denotes therefore the offering of the Tirumala people, *var* being used as the affix of the Tamil pronoun of the third person plural. *Tirumalarāja* is in colloquial Telugu often called *Tiramalarāyalu*, as *Tirupati* becomes Tirapati. Like *Dāmalavarubhayam* might be mentioned *Dāmalaceruvu* in North-Arcot, *Dāmal* in Chingleput, *Damalapādi* in Tanjore and others. I have been informed on good authority that the last place is to this day also known as Tirumalapādi. Yet, my derivation of Tirumala does not require the support of the etymology of these names.

Another but rarer form of Dramila is *Drimila*, which is derived from *Tirumila*, as Tripati from *Tirupati*, Trikōvil for *Tirukōvil*, or Trikāl for *Tirukāl.* The fact of the term *Tamil* being the ultimate derivative from Tirumala (Tramala) and denoting a special Dravidian dialect will perhaps serve in future researches as an historical clue for fixing the period when the various vernaculars of Southern India became sepa-

rate and distinct languages. If the *Limyrikē* (*Λιμυρική*) of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 8 and 85) is the *Dimirica* repeatedly mentioned in the Cosmography of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, as Bishop Caldwell has clearly pointed out by identifying it with Damirice or the Tamil country (see p. 14 of the Introduction to the second edition of the *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*), the work of Ptolemy contains the earliest mention of the word *Tamil.*

All these permutations prove the continual interchange of *m* with the other labial consonants, and of *l* into the *d* and *r* sounds.[26]

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[26] With respect to the above-mentioned conjectures a few observations are perhaps necessary.

The change of *a* into *i* and *vice versâ* is not rare, as in *mala* and *mila*, *Damirica* and *Dimirica*, *tiṟa*, open, and *taṟa*, &c., &c. *Tiruvāy* and its slang alteration into *Taravāy* are both Tamil words, though the latter common form has been introduced into Telugu by Telugu Brahmans—especially by Vaiṣṇava Telugu Brahmans—who live in the Tamil country, and has thus found its way even into modern Telugu dictionaries. The term *Taravay* for Vēdādhyāyana or Vēdōpakrama is neither found in Kanarese and Malayālam, nor in pure Telugu. The most important lesson which Brahman boys have to learn at and after their *Upanayanam* or investiture with the holy thread are Vēda mantras. Children generally alter words so as to suit their pronunciation, and Tamil boys most probably invented *Taravāy* for *Tiruvāy* as they say *taṟa*, open, instead of *tiṟa*. This corrupted form found eventually access into common Tamil, for up to this moment Taravāy is only considered a slang term. The origin of the word once forgotten, *tara* of *taravay*, was connected with the word *taram* in the meaning of *time* (once, twice, &c.), and as every lesson in order to be known must be repeated, so also the reciting of the Vēda after so many times or *taram*. It seems to be overlooked by those, who prefer this explanation, that the term *Taravāy* is only applied to the repetition of the Vēda and not to any other repetition, that if *tara* had been taken in the sense of "*time*," it ought to be at the end of the word, and that the syllable *vāy* gives no sense in *taravāy* unless it is accepted as meaning *Vēda* or holy word. *Taravāy*, *taruvāy*, in *taravāta* and *taruvāta*, occur in Telugu in the meaning of *afterwards*, as do in Kanarese *taravāya* and *taruvāya*; but these words have nothing in common with the above-mentioned Tamil *Taravāy*. The elision of an *r* is also not unfrequent, as *trāguṭa*, to drink, in Telugu becomes generally *tāguṭa*. Already Bishop Caldwell was struck with the strange formation of the word Dravida, for he says: "The compound *dr* is quite un-Dravidian. It would be *tira* in Tamil; but even if we suppose some such word as Tiraviḍa or Tiramiḍa to have been converted into Dravida by the Sanskrit-speaking people, we get no nearer to

The Telugu, Kanarese and other cognate northern races, when they had forgotten their claim to the name of Dravidians, called the Tamil language *Aravam*. This word *Aravam* is most likely a corruption of Dravidam. Dravidam or Dramilam became in its turn Daramidam (Daramilam), Aravidam (Aravilam), and finally Aravam.[27] However peculiar these changes may appear to the uninitiated, to the scientific philologist they can afford no special difficulty. Even in Sanskrit we occasionally observe an initial *d* dropped, *e.g.*, in *aśru*, tear, which is δάκρυ in Greek, *thräne* in German, and *lacryma* in Latin; while the elision of

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an explanation of the original meaning of the word." See Introduction to *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, p. 13.

The name *Tirumala* becomes in colloquial Telugu also *Tiramala*, *Tirmala* and *Timma*. This last word must be distinguished from *Timma* for *timmaḍu* or *timmanna*, monkey. Similarly does *tāmbūlamu*, betel, become tamalamu (or tammalamu) and *tāmma*; and *tāmara*, lotus, *tammi*.

In Tamil the verb *ōtu* (ஓது) means to recite the Vēda, while *ōttu* (ஓத்து) signifies the Vēda itself. Both words are Tadbhavams formed from the Sanskrit word *Vēda*.

27 The Tamil form *Tiraviḍam* for *Draviḍam* appears to prove that the origin of the word *Draviḍa* had been forgotten, when it was re-introduced into Tamil. As the Telugu and Kanarese languages do not insert an *i* between two consonants in the same manner as Tamil does, the derivation of *Aravam* from *Dravidam* gains in probability. In Kanarese the Tamil people are besides called *Tigaḻar*, which I am inclined to consider also as a corruption for Trimala. The *r* in the first syllable was dropped, and the labial in the second has been changed into a guttural *g*, as is not unfrequent; compare, *e.g.*, Kuḍaman and Kuḍavan with Kuḍagan. *Tigala* and *Arava* have in this case the same meaning. I am aware that the Rev. Mr. Kittel, whose opinion carries much weight, has declared that the original form of *Tigaḻar* (*Tiguḻar*) was *Tigur̤ar*.

The derivations of *Aravam* hitherto proposed appear to me to be inappropriate. Dr. Gundert thought it could be connected with *ar̤am*, virtue, and *ar̤avan* would have the meaning of a moralist. Others preferred the Tamil word *ar̤ivu*, knowledge, and *ar̤ivan* or *ar̤avan* represented thus the Tamulian as the intelligent person of the South, others derived it from an obscure Tamil district *Aruvā*. The defect of these etymologies is the fact that the Tamil people ignore the word *aravam*, so far as their name is concerned. The Telugu pandits are in favor of *arava* meaning *a-rava*, without sound, for the Tamil language does not possess aspirates, or is according to others rather rough; while some Kanarese pandits proposed as its root the Kanarese word *aravu*, half, or deficient, as the ancient Kanarese people are said to have

medial consonants is not at all unusual in the Indian vernaculars, *Bēstāramu*, Thursday, in Telugu, *e.g.*, for Bṛhaspativāra, *jannidamu* for yajñōpavīta, *ānati* for ājñapti.

The importance I attach to the derivation of Dravidian from Tirumala in the specified sense can be duly appreciated only when one considers that it establishes at once the prominent position the Malas (Mallas) or Dravidians occupied in the whole of India. It may perhaps be interesting to quote from the eloquent preface of Hodgson on the Kocch, Bōdo, and Dhimāl Tribes the following sentences, in which the term Tamulian is employed as equivalent to Dravidian. "The "Tamulian race, confined to India and never distinguished "by mental culture, offers, it must be confessed, a far less "gorgeous subject for inquiry than the Arian. But, as the "moral and physical condition of many of these scattered "members of the Tamulian body is still nearly as little "known as is the assumed pristine entirety and unity "of that body, it is clear that this subject had two parts, "each of which may be easily shown to be of high "interest, not merely to the philosopher but to the states-"man. The Tamulians are now, for the most part, British "subjects: they are counted by millions, extending from "the snows to the Cape (Comorin); and, lastly, they are as "much superior to the Arian Hindus in freedom from dis-"qualifying prejudices as they are inferior to them in know-"ledge and all its train of appliances. Let then the student "of the progress of society, of the fate and fortunes of the "human race, instead of poring over a mere sketch of the past,

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regarded Tamil to be a deficient language. Bishop Caldwell has treated at some length on this subject in his Introduction, pp. 18–20.

The initial consonant is often dropped in Dravidian languages, *e.g.*, in Tamil *Avai*, assembly, for *cavai; alliyam*, village of herdsmen, for *valliyam; aḻai*, rat hole, for *vaḻai* and *paḻai; amar*, war, from Sanskrit *samara; alam*, plough, from Sanskrit *hala; ita*, agreeable, from Sanskrit *hita;* in Telugu *esa*, haste, for *vesa; ella*, white, for *vella; ēyuṭa*, to throw, for *vēyuṭa; ēnu*, I, for *nēnu; īvu*, thou, for *nīvu; ēmu*, we, for *mēmu*, &c., &c.

"address himself to the task of preparing full and faithful "portraits of what is before his eyes; and let the statesman "profit by the labours of the student; for these primitive races "are the ancient inheritors of the whole soil, from all the rich "and open parts of which they were wrongfully expelled."

As points of minor interest I may as well here mention that the words Tirumāl and Perumāl are also derived from Mala (Malla). Both terms were originally the titles given by the Mallas to their great chiefs and kings. Each Perumāl was at first elected to rule for a period of twelve years, and was chosen from outside the country to govern Malanāḍu or Malayāḷam. As it often happens elsewhere with royal names, these were in later times applied as honorific appellations to the specially revered god, in this instance to Viṣṇu. The terms *sacred Mala* or the *Great Mala* being once connected with the deity, lost their original meaning, which was in course of time entirely forgotten. This circumstance explains their peculiar derivations so often found in Tamil dictionaries, and the strange attempts of grammarians to explain their startling formations. The name of Perumāl, the great Mala, is still a royal title in Malabar.[28]

CHAPTER IV.

The Pariah (Pārata, Pahāria), Brahui, Bār (Bhār), Mār (Mhār), &c.

Before I turn to the Mallas known as Pallas, I shall, after a few remarks, discuss the position of the Pariahs

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[28] The *māl* in Tirumāl is generally derived from *māl*, illusion, while the same *māl* in Perumāl is explained as a change for *mān* in the synonymous *Perumān*. The word Tirumāl supplies the best evidence of the radical nature of the *l* in Perumāl.

The indigenous title of the South-Indian Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya king was *Perumāl*. *Mallan* was the name of a Perumāl who built Mallūr in

and kindred races. The *Pallar* are described in Dr. Winslow's Tamil and English Dictionary as "a low dependent caste employed in husbandry, &c., under their feudal lords, a peasant tribe dwelling in the south, supposed to be a change of Mallar, மள்ளர்." Though the Pallar, like the Pallis and other tribes regard themselves as the descendants of the Pallavas once so powerful, they themselves neither produce nor possess sufficiently reliable historical evidence in support of their claims, which nevertheless may be perfectly well-founded. I have often but in vain tried to obtain some authentic information from the various castes in corroboration of their assertions, but I have only received vague and unreliable statements.

Derivation of the word Pariah.

If the term *Pariah* is considered to signify every outcaste from every caste, then the Pariahs, as such, do not come within the scope of this discussion; for though the greater part of them belong no doubt to the original or rather aboriginal Dravidian population, from which they have in later times been severed by hereditary social rules, and though they in their turn acknowledge among themselves caste distinctions, yet as every outcaste becomes to a certain extent a Pariah, the term Pariah does not represent now a strictly ethnological sub-division.

On the other hand it must be admitted that irrespective of this foreign element which has been added to the Pariah community, the Pariahs represent a distinctly separate class of the population, and as such we have to deal with them here. The general name by which the Marāṭha Pariahs is known is *Paravārī*.

Pōlanāḍu. *Mallan* is also called a rural deity which is set up on the border or on the ridges of rice-fields. Compare Dr. Gundert's *Malayālam Dictionary*, p. 801, and note 21 on p. 49.

That their name, in spite of its usual derivation from *para* or *parai*, drum, should rather be connected with the name of the original Dravidian population, seems to me to admit of no question. The supposition that the Pariahs are the drummer-caste and have obtained their name from that instrument appears to rest on a weak foundation. It is most probably an afterthought, the more easily explicable since the lower classes delighted in the noise of the drum, and the name of the drum-beating class was transferred to the instrument by which the Pariah made his presence known. The lute of the Caṇḍāla (the *caṇḍāla-vallakī, caṇḍālikā, cāṇḍālikā, kaṇḍōlī* or *kaṇḍōla-viṇā*) is similarly named after the Caṇḍāla, and not the Caṇḍāla after the lute. Moreover, the word *para* or *parai* is, except in Malayālam and Tamil, not found in the other Dravidian languages in the sense of drum and at the same time as the name of the Pariahs; for the Pariah is called *Holcya* in Kanarese in spite of *pare* signifying a drum, and in Telugu he is known as *Mālavāḍu*, which word originally signifies *mountaineer* (see p. 84). If the Pariahs were really the caste of drummers, they would most probably be called so, wherever they are found in India.

I regard the Pariah as the representative of the ancient Dravidian population, and as having been condemned to supply his name to the lowest layers of the population, as the ancient Śūdras after their subjugation gave their name to the Śūdra caste. It will be subsequently shown that the *Caṇḍālas* are among the Gauḍians, what the *Pariahs* are among the Dravidians. This connection is even indicated by the name of the Caṇḍālas, which resembles those of the Kandaloi, Khands and Gonds.

I think that the word *Pariah*, the *Paravārī* of the Marātha country, is intimately connected with the names of the Pāratas, Pāradas, Paravar, Pardhis, Parheyas, Pahārias or Māler, Bārs (Bhārs), Brahuis, Mārs (Mhārs), &c., &c., and that it designated originally a *mountaineer*, from the Dravidian root

paṟa, preserved in the Malayālam *paṟa*, in the Tamil *pār* and *pāṟai*, and the Telugu *pāru*. The formation of the word *Pahāria* corresponds probably with that of *Mahāra*, and as Mahāra or Mahār is derived from Mhār and Mār, as *Bahar* is from Bhār and Bār, so may also *Pahār* be regarded as a derivative from Phār and Pār.[29]

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[29] Bishop Caldwell remarks on p. 549 on this subject: "It has been said "that the name Pareiya, or Pariah, is synonymous with that of the Pahārias "(from *pāhār*, a hill), a race of mountaineers, properly called Mālers, "inhabiting the Rājmahāl Hills, in Bengal; and hence it is argued that the "Pareiyas may be considered, like the Pahārias, as a race of non-Aryan, non-"Dravidian aborigines. It is an error, however, to suppose that there is "any connection between those two names. The word Pariah, properly "Paṟeiya, denotes not a mountaineer, but a drummer, a word regularly "derived from *paṟei*, a drum, especially the great drum used at funerals. "The name Pareiya is, in fact, the name of a hereditary occupation, the "Pareiyas being the class of people who are generally employed at festivals, "and especially at funerals, as drummers."

The improbability of this derivation, though advocated by such a great authority as the highly esteemed and learned Bishop, has been pointed out by me. Moreover, it may be remarked that Pariah drummers are not employed at the festivals of Brahmans.

As the name of the Pariah is thus by high authorities derived from *paṟai*, drum, it is here perhaps not out of place to mention some of the various kinds of drums used by the natives of Southern India. The drums vary as to their size, construction, the material they are made of, and the manner in which they are carried. A *Ḍamāra* (Sanskrit *Ḍamaru*) is carried by a bull, a *Ḍhaṅka* (Sanskrit *Ḍhakkā*) on a horse, a *Nagārā* (of Semitic origin, in Arabic, *e.g.*, نقارة; Tamil *Nakarā*) by an elephant or camel, and a *Bhēri* (Sanskrit *Bhēri* (ī)) on a cart. Other kinds of drums are carried by men, as the *Tappaṭṭai*, a small drum, which hangs from the left shoulder and is beaten under the left arm from below with a stick in the right hand, and from above with a small stick in the left hand. The *Tāsā*, a small semi-globular shaped drum, is worn in front round the neck below the chest and beaten with two small sticks. The *Ḍōl* (Sanskrit *Ḍhōla*) is a big drum which is also carried over the neck, but is beaten only with one stick in the right hand and with the other hand. The *Paṟai*, which has the euphemistic name of *Alaṅkāram*, is not carried, when beaten, but lies on the ground between the feet of the drummer and is used at festivals, weddings, and funerals. It is beaten only by a particular class of Pariah the *Veṭṭiyān*, who burns corpses and digs graves. It is therefore neither beaten by all Pariahs nor used in common life. The *Tappaṭṭai* and *Tāsā* are in fashion among the Pariahs and other low classes, though Muhammedans and Śūdras practise on them occasionally. The beaters of the other drums are mostly Śūdras. The *Kōtas* and the *Todas* on the Nīlagiri also have the *Tappaṭṭai* and Tāsā. The term *paṟai* is in Tamil now used as the general term for drum. I believe that most of the

The Brahuis.

On the northern frontier of India near the Bolan Pass not far from the seats of the ancient Bhalānas, who are mentioned by the bards of the Ṛig vēda, begins the long chain of the *Brahui* mountains. This mountain range extends continuously from the vicinity of the Bolan pass to Cape Monze on the Persian Gulf, and is to this day the home of the Dravidian Brahuis, who must be regarded as the western borderers of Dravidian India. The origin

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above-mentioned names of the drums are merely imitations of the sounds these instruments make. H. H. Wilson introduced by mistake the "*Palaya* or *Paraya*" in his translation of the second edict of Aśōka. The *Mālalu* or Telugu Pariahs are also called *Mannepuvāṇḍlu* or Highlanders; see *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. VIII, p. 218.

Compare Fr. Buchanan's *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, edited by Montgomery Martin, vol. II, pp. 122, 123: "The mountain tribes are, I believe, the descendants of the original inhabitants of the country, very little, if at all, mixed with foreign colonies. Their features and complexion resemble those of all the rude tribes, that I have seen on the hills from the Ganges to Malabar, that is on the Vindhya mountains. Their noses are seldom arched and are rather thick at the points.. Their faces are oval..Their lips are full..Their eyes..are exactly like those of Europeans." See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I, pp. 454-458 (1st ed., pp. 380-384): "Die Pahāria nennen sich selbst Maler oder Bergbewohner,..sie haben dieselben Züge und die Hautfarbe, wie alle die rohen Stämme vom Ganges nach Malabar . . es soll die Sprache der Pahāria reich an Worten sein, die dem Tamil and Telinga zugleich angehören." On p. 1028 Lassen remarks in note 5: "Est is zu bemerken, dass *Pārada* zwar auch Bergbewohner bedeutet haben wird."—I believe that the *Parjas* of Jeypore should be included among these people, though Mr. D. F. Carmichael prefers to regard this name as a corruption by metathesis from the Sanskrit word *Prajas*, subjects. See *Manual of the District of Vizagapatam*, p. 87; Madras Census Report of 1871, vol. I, pp. 223-225.—One of the *Koli* tribes on the Mahi Kanta hills is called *Pariah*. Two Rājput tribes of Mallāni are known by the name of *Paria* and *Pariāria*.

The fishermen in Tinnevelly are called *Paravar* (or *Paratar* and *Paratavar*). According to Mr. Simon Casie Chetty in his "Remarks on the Origin and History of the Parawas" in vol. IV of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 130-134: "It is the general belief among the Parawas that their "original country was Ayudhya, or Oude; and it appears that previously to "the war of the Mahābhārat, they inhabited the territory bordering on "the river Yamuna, or Jumna... In that section of the Mahābhārat entitled "*Adipurva*, it is said, that the king of the Parawas who resided on the banks "of the Jumna, having found an infant girl in the belly of a fish adopted "her as his own daughter, giving her the name of *Machchakīndī*, and that

of the names of the Baluches [30] and of the Brahuis is unknown, but I believe that they are in some way related to, if not indeed identical with, each other. I recognise in the name of the Pāratas [31] and Pāradas who dwelt in North-eastern Baluchistan,—which country coincides with the Paradēnē of Ptolemy,[32]—the origin of the modern word Brahui. Both the Sanskrit as well as the Dravidian languages possess the two liquids *r* and *l*, yet the former letter seems to have

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"when she grew up, she was employed (as was customary with the females "of the Parawa tribe) to ferry passengers over the river. On a certain day, "the sage *Pārāsara* having chanced to meet her at the ferry, she became "with child by him, and was subsequently delivered of a son, the famous "Vyāsa, who composed the Purānas. Her great personal charms afterwards "induced king *Santanu*, of the lunar race, to admit her to his royal bed, and "by him she became the mother of *Vachitravirya*, the grandsire of the "*Pāndavas* and *Kauravas*.. Hence the Parawas boast of being allied to the "lunar race, and call themselves accordingly, besides displaying at their "wedding feasts the banners and emblems peculiar to it."

This is the story of *Satyavatī* (*Matsyagandhī*), the mother of Vyāsa by Parāśara, and of Vicitravīrya and Citrāṅgada by Śantanu, which is told in the *Ādiparva* in the 63rd and 100th chapters and elsewhere, as also in the Harivaṁśa, XVIII, 38–45. Compare also J. Talboys Wheeler's *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 60–62.

It is peculiar that the *Pallevāṇḍlu* in the Telugu country who correspond to the Paḷḷis in the South are mostly fishermen, though the same term *pallevāṇḍlu* applies also to *villagers*. In North India a class of fishermen is called *Malla*. The name denotes the tribe and not the occupation.

30 The modern Baluches say that they came from Aleppo in Syria. Little is known about the origin of their name. It resembles that of the Ballas and Bhalānas, though it is unsafe to make any conjecture in this respect.

31 See Bṛhatsaṁhitā, x, 5, 7; xiii, 9; xiv, 21, &c. Varāhamihira mentions the Pāratas together with the Ramaṭas, and with other nations on the northern frontier of India, *e.g.*, Śaka-Yavana-Darada-Pārata-Kāmbōjāḥ. The Pāradas occur in Manu (x. 44), in the Ramāyaṇa, and repeatedly in the Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa and Viṣṇupurāṇa.

It has been also proposed to explain *Pārada* as meaning a people living across the river, in this case beyond the Indus. Such a name could hardly have been assumed by the *Pāradas* themselves, especially if they had never crossed the Indus.

32 When describing Gedrosia Ptolemy VI, 21, 4, says: Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τῆς χώρας κατέχουσιν Ἀρβιτῶν κῶμαι, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὴν Καρμανίαν Παρσίδαι (ἢ Παρσίραι), τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὴν Ἀραχωσίαν Μουσαρναῖοι, ἡ δὲ μέση τῆς χώρας πᾶσα καλεῖται Παραδηνή, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτὴν Παρισιηνή, μεθ' ἣν τὰ πρὸς τῷ Ἰνδῷ κατέχουσι Ῥάμναι. Besides *Paradēnē* may be mentioned as connected by

been preferred in more ancient times, as is seen, in the Vedic words *aram*, enough, and *rarāṭa*, forehead, instead of the later *alam* and *lalāṭa*. The same peculiarity has been observed in ancient Iranian, and no valid objection can be raised against connecting the word *Parthva* of the cuneiform inscriptions (the classical *Parthiva*) with Pahlav. The Parthians were Scythians or Turanians and so were the Pallas (Mallas) of India and their neighbours on the northern frontier of India.

The power of the Parthians becoming supreme in Persia, the name became identified with Persia, and after the disappearance of the Parthian or Pahlavi kings the words *Pahlavi* assumed in course of time the meaning of *ancient Persian* and even of *ancient*. It is a curious coincidence that in the Dravidian languages also a word resembling *Palla* in form means *old*, in Tamil and Malayālam *paḻa*, in Kanarese *paḻe* or *haḻe*, in Tulu *para*, etc. Under these circumstances I regard the *Bra* in Brahui as a contraction of *Bara*, and obtain thus in *Barahui* a name whose resemblance to that of the ancient *Barrhai* the modern Bhārs, as well as to that of

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similarity of name and vicinity of geographical position the districts *Parsia*, *Parsiana* and *Parsiene*, the tribes of the *Parnoi* (Arsaces and Tiradates are said to have been Parnians), *Parūtai*, *Parsidai* or *Parsirai* and *Parsyētai* and the mountain range of the *Paropamisos*.

According to the command of the king Sagara, the *Yavanas* shaved their heads entirely, the *Śakas* shaved the upper half of their heads, the *Pāradas* wore their hair long, and the *Pahlavas* let their beards grow. (See Harivaṁśa, XIV. 15–17).

Sagaraḥ svām pratijñām ca guror vākyam niśamya ca
dharmam jaghāna teṣām vai veśānyatvam cakāra ha. 15
Arddham Śakānām śiraso muṇḍayitvā vyasarjayat
Yavanānām śiraḥ sarvam Kāmbojānām tathaiva ca, 16
Pāradā muktakleśāścā Pahlavāḥ śmaśrudhāriṇaḥ
nissvādhāya vaṣaṭkārāḥ kṛtāḥ tena mahātmanā. 17

Compare also *Vishṇu Purāṇa* of H. H. Wilson, edited by F. Hall, vol. III, p. 294.

Bishop Caldwell mentions that the practice of wearing long hair is characteristic of the Dravidians. (See *Dravidian Grammar*, 2nd edit., Introduction, p. 114.) Beards are also worn by many Dravidian races.

the Pāratas and Paravar, and their kindred the Marātha *Paravārī* and Dravidian Parheyas of Pālamau is striking. It is also not impossible that the country Paraśa, which corresponds to Northern Baluchistan and not to Persia, and is mentioned in Hiuen-Tsiang's travels, contains the same name. The interchange of *r* and *l* is equally apparent in the name of the Māras or Mālas of Pālamau, who derive their origin from Mālva. The connecting link between the Brahuis and the ancient Dravidians through the Bhārs, Parheyas, Mārs and Mālas, &c., seems to be thus established.[33]

The Bārs or Bhārs.

After the Brahuis the aboriginal Indian race of the Bārs or Bhārs claims our attention. The earliest mention of them is found in Ptolemy VII, 2, 20, where they are called

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[33] The late Dr. Trumpp was fully persuaded of the Dravidian character of the Brahui language. With respect to the explanation of the name most authorities seem to admit that the first syllable *Bra* is originally dissyllabic. The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* contains in vol. XIX, pp. 59–135 "An Essay on the Brāhūi Grammar" after the German of the late Dr. Trumpp, of Munich University, by Dr. Theodore Duka, M.R.A.S., Surgeon-Major, Bengal Army. On p. 64 we read: "The national name, "Bráhúi is pronounced in several ways. Nicolson and Maulawi Alla Bux "spell it Biruhi (that is Bíroohi or Birouhi), but we must not forget that "Birúhí (बिरूही) is a Sindhi word, and it is therefore difficult to say how "the people in question call themselves. In Nicolson's Reader the word "occurs twice written براهوى, which cannot be pronounced otherwise than "Bráhúí or Birāhúi, and this should, therefore, be adopted as the proper "pronunciation of the word."

This statement is not quite correct; it can as well be pronounced *Barahui*, for برا, large, is pronounced *barā*, and برابر, abreast, *barābar*, &c.

According to Mr. C. Masson *Brahui* is a corruption of Ba-roh-i.

The word Brahui appears to indicate a *highlander*, for a tribe of the Baluchis is called *Nhārui*, not a hill man, *i.e.*, a dweller in the plain. The Nhāruis "may be considered to hold the same place with reference to the Brahuis that 'lowlanders' do to 'highlanders'." See *The Country of Balochistan*, by A. W. Hughes, p. 29.

My derivation appears thus to have a good foundation.

See Dr. Fr. Buchanan's *Eastern India*, edited by M. Martin, vol. II, p. 126: "The northern tribe consider their southern neighbours as brethren, and call them Maler, the name which they give themselves; but the southern tribe, shocked at the impurity of the others, deny this consanguinity, and

Barrhai. They do not appear to be specially quoted in Sanskrit literature, unless the wild mountaineer tribe of the *Bharatas,* who occur in the dictionaries along with the *Śabaras,* is considered identical with them. Sir Henry M. Elliot thought that the Bhārs might perhaps be the Bharatas, whose descent is traced to Jayadhvaja. According to the Harivaṁśa the Bharatas are very numerous. The Bhārs pronounce their name very harshly, and it is by no means impossible that the well-known Aryan word barbarian, *Barbara* or *Varvara* in Sanskrit, owes to a certain extent its origin to them.[34] The Bhār tribe is also known as *Rājbhār, Bharat* and *Bhārpatva.*[35] There is some contention between the Bhār and the Rājbhār as to superiority, but this is a difficult point to decide; some regard the Rājbhārs as

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most usually call the northern tribe Chet, while they assume to themselves the denomination of Mal or Mar, which however is probably a word of the same derivation with Maler." Compare also note 23 on p. 22, and *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal,* by Colonel E. T. Dalton, p. 264 : "We have a tribe called Māl or Mār. . They declare, they came originally from Mālwā. . . Mālwā is the chief seat of the Bhīl race, who are considered aborigines of that district. Mālavas and Bhils may be identical, and our Pahārias and Bhīls cognates."

[34] See Genl. Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey of India,* vol. XVII, p. 140 : "We know at least that the Aryans ridiculed the aborigines on account of their *burr,* and gave them the nick name of *barbaras,* or barbarians, from which we may conclude that any words containing the burred *r* must be indigenous."

The word *barbar* is spelt in Hindustani *baṛbaṛ,* بڑبڑ. Compare "Notes on the Bhars and other Early Inhabitants of Bundelkhand," by Vincent A. Smith in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* [1877], vol. XLVI, pp. 227–236, where in the first note on p. 227 we read : "The name is usually spelt 'Bhar,' but the spelling 'Bharr' would more accurately represent the pronunciation."

[35] See Sir Henry M. Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary of Indian Terms,* vol. I, pp. 33 and 34 : "Common tradition assigns to them the . . whole tract from Gorakhpūr to Bundelkhand and Saugor, and the large Pargannah of Bhadoí. in Benares (formerly Bhardai) is called after their name. Many old stone forts, embankments, and subterraneous caverns in Gorakhpūr, Azimgarh, Jaunpūr, Mirzapūr, and Allahabad, which are ascribed to them, would seem to indicate no inconsiderablo advance in civilization. The wild Bhīls of Marwar are called Bhaunris, but I know not whether there is any connexion between them and the Bhars. The Bhoyas and Bhuttias of Agorī and

descended from the old Bhār nobility, who themselves claim to have been formerly Kṣatriyas. They do not eat swine's flesh as the Bhārs do, and this abstention is regarded as an indication of greater respectability. All these races are now very much mixed. The Bhārs are often mentioned together with the Cherus.

We possess very little information about the ancient history of the Bhārs. Legend associates their name with the earliest Aryan heroes, *e.g.*, with *Rāma* and his sons, but the Bhārs suddenly disappear from the scene, and, so far as history is concerned, reappear just previously to the Mahommedan invasion of India, at which period they certainly possessed a vast territory, and were indeed the real owners of the soil.

In fact the Bhārs must have once ruled over a great area of country stretching from Oudh in the west to Behar in the east and Chota Nagpur, Bundelkund and Sagar in the south. Their name still survives in Bahar, Bahraich (Bharaich), Bāra, Baragaon, Bāra Banki, Barhapara and Barwan in Oudh, in Bareilly, Barhaj, Barhar (or Bharhar) in the North-Western Provinces, in Bar, Barabar, Baraghi and Barhiya in Behar, in Barva in Chota Nagpur, and in many other places.[36] *Bāra* in Oudh is said to have been founded

Singraulī, who are generally classed as Ahīrs, may probably bear some relation to the Bhars, though no trace can now be had of their descent. The Cherūs also are sometimes said to be a branch of the Bhars. . . It is strange that no trace of Bhars is to be found in the Puranas, unless we may consider that there is an obscure indication of them in the 'Brahma Purana,' where it is said that among the descendants of Jayadhvaja are the Bharatas, who, it is added, 'are not commonly specified *from their great number*,' or they may, perhaps, be the Bhargas, of the Mahabharata, subdued by Bhim Sen on his Eastern expedition. The Bhars consider themselves superior to Rājbhars, notwithstanding the prenomen of Rāj, but this claim to superiority is not conceded by the Rajbhars. They do not eat or drink with each other."

See *Harivaṁśa* XXXIII, 53 : Bharatāścā sutā jātā bahutvānnānukīrttitāḥ.

[36] See *The Bhars of Audh and Banāras*, by Patrick Carnegy, Commissioner of Rāi Barelī, Oudh, printed in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. 45, p. 303 : "The parganas of Bhardoi, Bharosā, Bahrāich, and Bharolī and the

by a Bhār Rāja called Bāra, while the foundation of *Bāra Banki* is associated with Jas, another Bhār Rāja. The Liṅga on the top of the *Bārabār* hill near Gayā was according to local tradition placed there by a Bār Rāja, whose combats with Kṛṣṇa are even now remembered by the people.[37] This is most probably an allusion to the Asura *Bāṇa*, the son of Bali. The *Bārhapāra* pargana is still populated with aboriginal Bhārs. The pargana *Bhādohi* or *Bhārdohi* is called after them, and the name of the town of *Bharaich* is also derived from their name.[38]

Traces of the former supremacy of the Bhārs are found scattered all over the country. Most of the stone erections, fortifications, as well as the embankments, and the subterranean caves in Gorakhpur, Azimgarh, Janpur, Benares, Mirzapur, and Allahabad are ascribed to them. Such forts generally go now by the name of *Bhār-dīh*. The grand ruins known as those of Pampāpurā in the neighbourhood of the modern

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town of Bhartipur (near the Bhar capital, Kusbhawanpur *alias* Sulṭānpūr), are all believed to derive their names from the Bhars..Sleeman also mentions a large district of nearly a thousand villages near Mahamdi, which even in his day was known as Bharwāṛā, now occupied by Ahban Rājpūts." Compare *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. 46, pp. 227 and 228 : "The former presence of the Bhars in the Hamīrpur District is attested by the traditions, which will be presently described, and by local names in every pargana. A few examples of such names out of many may be of interest ; thus the old name of the town of Sumerpur (in Parg. Sumerpur) is Bharuā, and in the parganas of Maudhā, Panwārī-Jaitpur, Jalālpur, and Raṭh, respectively, we find localities named Bharsawān, Bharwārā, Bharkharī or Barkharī, and Bhanṛaurā Kerā, and in several of these cases the evidence of the name is confirmed by that of tradition." With respect to *Baragaon* Genl. Sir A. Cunningham (*Archæological Survey of India*, vol. I, p. 28) says : "By the Brahmans these ruins (of Baragaon) are said to be the ruins of Kundilpur ..I doubt the truth of this Brahmanical tradition, more especially as I can show beyond all doubt that the remains at Baragaon are the ruins of Nâlanda, the most famous seat of Buddhist learning in all India."

[37] About *Barabar* compare *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. I, pp. 40–53. Sir A. Cunningham derives the name from "*bara* and *awara*, or *Barawara*, the great enclosure (see p. 43)," as there was an enclosure on the Siddhêśvara hill. See *ibidem*, vol. VIII, pp. 35–37.

[38] Genl. Sir A. Cunningham identifies the *Bardaotis* of Ptolemy with Bharhut. See *Arch. Survey of India*, IX, pp. 2-4 and XXI, p. 92. Compare also *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XVI, pp. 401–416.

Mirzapur probably owed their origin to the Bhārs. Mr. C. A. Elliot states that "almost every town whose name does not "end in *pūr*, or *ābād*, or *mow*, or is not distinctly derivable "from a proper name, is claimed by tradition, in the east of "Oudh, as a Bhar town. The district of Bharaich . . . is their "oldest abode, and the name of the town Bharaich is said "to be derived from them." Traces of the Bhārs abound according to Mr. Duthoit, late Superintendent of the Maharaja of Benares, "on all sides in the form of old tanks and village forts. One cannot go for three miles in any direction without coming upon some of the latter." Not very long ago the Bhārs were the lords of the soil in the districts of Benares and Oudh, and according to the still prevailing tradition in Azimgarh, the Rājbhārs occupied the country in the time of Rāma. The structures left by the Bhārs prove that they were equally proficient in the arts of peace and of war. The remains ascribed to them are especially numerous in the Benares district.[39]

Benares or Vārānasī (Bārānasī) lies on the banks of the *Barna* (or *Varaṇā*), where it flows into the Ganges. I am of opinion that *Bārānasī* owes its name to the Bārs or Bhārs. I assign likewise the name of *Behar* or Bahar to the same origin, especially as the Bhārs were once the rulers in this district, and as the usual derivation from *Vihāra*, a Buddhist temple, seems to me very problematic, the more so

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39 Compare Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. I, pp. 357–375 on the Bhar tribe, and the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XII, p. 89: "It is said that Nagar Khās and Pokhra, and the land generally around "the Chando Tāl, were originally in the possession of the Bhars, who may "possibly, therefore, have founded some of the ancient sites in that "neighbourhood." Read also *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XLV, p. 305, about the *Bharādīs* (or Bhar-ābādīs).

On the other hand, Mr. Smith, *ididem*, vol. XLVI, p. 234, remarks: "The Bhars of Bundelkhand, so far as we know them, seem to have "possessed little of the arts of civilization, and to have consequently left "behind them almost nothing of architectural or artistic interest."

as Behar was not the only district in India which was covered with such religious buildings. Not far north from the old town of Behar lies to this day the district and village of *Bar*. *Bahar* is also the name of a small place in Oudh. It might perhaps be advisable to discontinue deriving the names of Indian localities from Sanskrit words, as has been usually done hitherto, unless where such derivations are well supported. General Sir A. Cunningham thinks that too much stress has been laid upon the popular traditions which ascribe nearly all the ancient remains to the Bhārs.[40] But, impossible though it may be to prove the authenticity of the legends, it can hardly be doubted that a good deal of truth does underlie them.

In the explanation of the local names a great difficulty arises because many words of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and

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[40] See Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XI, p. 67 : "It has been the fashion to refer all the remains of antiquity in Eastern Oudh to the barbarous race of aboriginal Bhars."

Instead of proving the incorrectness of such statements, that may be, and indeed are, wrong in some cases, Sir Alex. Cunningham substitutes another etymology, to which also many *real* objections can be made. He is in favor of substituting for the name of the *Bhar* people that of the bar (banian) tree, which is in Sanskrit *Vaṭa*. Speaking of the native *burr* as mentioned on p. 66, in note 34, he continues on p. 140 of vol. XVII : "To "this class I would refer the name of the banian tree, *bat*, which is "invariably pronounced *bar* or *war*, with a burring *r*. Hence, as *da* means "water in several of the aboriginal dialects, we have *Wardā*, or the 'Banian "tree river.' That this is the true derivation of the name seems nearly "certain from the plentifulness of the banian tree in the Wardā district, "where we also find the names of *War-ora*, *Warar*, *Wargaon*, *Warhona*, "*Warha*, *Wargai*, *Warjhari*, *Warkuli*, *Warnera*, and *Waḍnera*, and *Baḍnera*, "several times repeated; and even the name of Berār itself is said to be "properly *Waṛ Hār* or *Baṛhār*, the country of the *baṛ*, 'a banian tree.'"

Some of these etymologies appear very doubtful, especially those of *Wargaon* and *Berar*. I should perhaps remark that the places given by Sir Alex. Cunningham differ from those quoted by me on p. 67. It is also peculiar that most of the localities above mentioned are written with an initial *W*. Compare also the notices about the Banian (*Bar*) forests in the *Haveli* pargana in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XVIII, pp. 52–54, and vol. XXII, pp. 13–15.

other origin are very similar to the tribal name of the Bhārs.[41]

These people formed no doubt a considerable portion of the old population of Northern India. Though the Aryan power was for some time paramount in this part of Bharatavarṣa, and our historical accounts about the Bhārs begin at a considerably later period—in fact after the Buddhist reformation—we are as yet unable to define the time of the supremacy of the Bhārs. I am of opinion that the Aryan invaders subdued the Bhārs, and kept them in the background till they in their turn were vanquished by other intruders. The non-Aryan population continued to occupy the ground as previously in the capacity of landowners, farmers and serfs. The Buddhist re-action brought them again to the front. Some of them who were landholders or farmers were called Bhūmiyas, from *Bhūmi*, land, and are now known by this name.[42]

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[41] E.g., *bār*, *bhār*, *bhārā*, burden; *bār*, signifies also in Hindustānī according to the various words from which it is derived, time, water, prohibition, &c.; *bārā*, boy, *bārah*, twelve, *bar*, excellent, *barr*, wasp, *barā* and *baṛā*, large, *baṛ*, Indian figtree, &c.

[42] See General Sir A. Cunningham in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XI, pp. 130-131: "There is a ruined fort on the hill above the village "(Bhuili). The derivation of the name is not known, but I suspect it to be "connected with the great tribe of *Bhuïas*, and that it may be only a "slightly altered form of *Bhuïāla*. The Bhuïas are by far the most numer-"ous class in the Chunār and Sahsarām districts. They are evidently the "aborigines or old inhabitants of the country. Buchanan writes the name "Bhungihār, but I believe that the proper appellation is simply *Bhūmia*, or "men of the earth, or *autochthones*, a title given to them by the Brahmans. "They generally call themselves *Musahar*."

See the *History*, *Antiquities*, *Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, edited by Montgomery Martin; London, 1883, vol. I, p. 168: "The "Bhar have been fully mentioned in my account of Puraniya, in the north-"western parts of which, and in the adjacent parts of Tirahut and Nepal "they were at one time the governing tribe;" further, pp. 176, 177, 178: "In this district the most numerous of these tribes is called *Musahar*, and they, "probably like the *Bhungiyas*, are the remains of the armies of Jarasandha. "In some parts, Musahars and Bhungihars are reckoned two names for "the same tribe, which is probably a just opinion (176). The *Rajwars* are a

As many changed or disowned their tribal name, the seeming disappearance of the Bhārs can be explained to a great extent. They were also largely absorbed by other

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"pretty numerous tribe (177). They pretend that their common ancestor was "a certain Rishi, who had two sons. From the eldest are descended the "Rajwars, who became soldiers and obtained their noble title; from the "younger are descended the Musahars, who have obtained their name from "eating rats which the Rajwars reject... They differ in scarcely any of their "customs from the Musahars....The *Rajwar* and *Bhungiyas* are allowed to be "higher than the Musahars....They all speak a very impure dialect of the "Hindi..The Musahars live chiefly in little round huts, like bee-hives; "but the huts of the Bhungiyas and Rajwars are of the usual form. The "Bhungiyas and Rajwars have chief men called Majhis, like those of the "hill tribes in Bhagalpur." (178); vol. II, p. 119.

About the Musahar read: "The Musheras of Central and Upper India," by John C. Nesfield, in the *Calcutta Review* of January 1888, pp. 1–53. On p. 2, Mr. Nesfield says: "In Buchanan's *Eastern India* they are "described as a people 'who have derived their name from eating rats.' "In an old folk-tale, which has recently come to my knowledge, the name "is made to signify flesh-seeker or hunter (being derived from *masu*, flesh, "and *hēra*, seeker)."

Compare Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 81, 82, 92, 130, 148—

"The *Kocchis* then gave a line of princes to Kamrup; at this time a part "of Upper Asam was under a mysterious dynasty, called the Bhara Bhuya, "of which no one has ever been able to make anything (81) ..All the works "still existing in the deserted forests of the northern bank of the Brahma-"putra are attributed to the Bhara Bhungyas or Bhuyas (82). (Buchanan, "vol. II, p. 612, mentions already the legend of the 12 persons of *Bārah* "*Bhuiyas.*)..The *Kocch* appear to me equally out of their element among the "Lohitic tribes..In short I consider they belong to the *Dravidian* stock, and "are probably a branch of the great Bhuiya family, and we thus obtain a clue "to the tradition of the Bhara Bhuiyas, to whose period of rule so many great "works in Asam are ascribed(92).

According to Colonel Dalton, p. 327, the Rājwārs in Sirgūja "are skilled "in a dance called *Chailo*, which I believe to be of Dravidian origin." See the two articles "On the Bārah Bhūyas of Eastern Bengal," by Dr. James Wise, in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. LXIII, pp. 197–214, and vol. LXIV, pp. 181–83. Dr. Wise relates the history of five Bhūyas, *i.e.*, of Fazl Ghāzī of Bhowāl, Chand Rāi and Kedar Rāi of Bikrampūr, Lakhan Mānik of Bhaluah, Kandarpa Nārāyana Rāi of Chandradīp, and Īsā Khān, Masnad-i-Ali of Khizrpūr.

Compare further *Note on Mahāsthān near Bagurā* (*Bogra*), *Eastern Bengal*, by C. J. O'Donnell, *ibidem*, LXIV, pp. 183–186. On page 183 we read: "With regard to Mahāsthān he (the District Deputy Collector) seems more "correct. He identifies it with *Bārendra*, the capital of the Bārendra "Hindus. In favour of this view the only arguments are strong, though

castes and communities, but a sufficient number of them still exists.[43]

Many Rājputs have Bhār blood in their veins, and Dr. Francis Buchanan went so far as to state that the *Parihāra* Rajputs of Shahabad are descended from the Bhārs.[44]

"simple. The whole country between the Ganges, the Mahānandā, Kāmrūp, "and the Karatoyā, was undoubtedly the old Barendra Desha. To the "present day, much of it is called 'Barind.'.. All round it, however, there "are shrines, holy wells and embankments connected with the name of "Bhīma, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers .. Bhīma is said to have made a large "fortified town south of Mahāsthān, which is marked by great earthworks "altogether about eight miles long, and still in places as much as twenty "feet high. The whole country between them and Mahāsthān is in places "covered with bricks.....It may be mentioned in connection with Mahasthān "that there is a legend that on a certain occasion twelve persons of very "high distinction and mostly named Pāla came from the west, to perform "a religious ceremony on the Karatoyā river, but arriving too late, settled "down on its banks till the next occurrence of the holy season, the Nārāyaṇī, "which depends on certain conjunctions of the planets, and was then twelve "years distant. They are said to have built numerous places and temples, "dug tanks, and performed other pious acts. They are said to have been "of the Bhuinhār or Bhāman Zamindār tribe, which is, at the present day, "represented by the Rājās of Banāras and Bhettia." See also *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XV, p. 115.

[43] The Census of 1881 counts 382,779 Bhars, of whom 20,870 live in Bengal, 1,639 in the Central Provinces, and 360,270 in the North-Western Provinces.

[44] See Dr. Buchanan's report in Montgomery Martin's vol. II, p. 463: "In the account of Shahabad I have mentioned, that those pretending to be such (*Parihar Rajputs*) were in fact *Bhars* or Bhawars, and the same might be supposed to be the case here (in Gorukhpoor), where the Bhars were once lords of the country ; but the Bhars here do not pretend to have any kindred with the Parihars, and the latter are not only allowed to be a pure but a high tribe;" and vol. I, 493 : "The tribe of palanquin-bearers, including *Parihar Rajputs*, *Rajbangsi Bhars*, and *Rajbars* amounts to about 500 families."

Compare P. Carnegy in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XLV, p. 300–2. "Many years of the official life of the writer have been devoted to duties "which involved the examination of the genealogies of some of our oldest "and best native families, and the results of his inquiries have led him to "the following conclusions: (1) that not a single member of the landed "gentry or local priesthood can trace back to an ancestor who held an acre "of land, or who administered a spiritual function within the area under "inquiry during the Bhar supremacy ; (2) that scarcely any of them can "trace back to an ancestor who came into Audh at the Muhammadan advent,

The Bhārs like other tribes have embraced the different creeds, which from time immemorial prevailed in India;

"when the Bhars, who were then in universal possession of the land, were "overthrown; and (3) that the great mass of the landowners of to-day can "trace no further back than to an ancestor whose origin is easily discovered "to be both indigenous and spurious... I have found the opinion so gener-"ally entertained that there was a Rājpūt conquest and colonization of "Audh, that it requires a distinct answer...I have not discovered the exist-"ence of any such central tradition of conquest by Rājpūts from without.. "I can refer to the histories of many Rājpūt clans,..but none of them declare "..the arrival of an army of clansmen, and colonization by the victors with "their families and kin. The very fact of the singular connections to which "so many of the clans trace their descent is opposed to the idea of a con-"quest by arms. An orthodox Hindu, the conqueror of a low-born race, "would not have founded a family by an alliance which his religion sternly "rebuked...It is finally noticeable that the Audh clans who claim an extra-"provincial origin, trace their descent to single Chatrīs, and not to troops "of Rājpūt invaders. Such are the Bais of Baiswāṛa,..and the Rājkumārs. "..With these two exceptions none of the clansmen of eastern Audh claim a "western origin. In regard to the *third* class, it is always invidious to "enter into details of *pedigrees*, but a few amongst very many available "instances may be given. The Kanpūriā is one of our most important "clans; so is the Bandelgot. In twenty generations according to the "members, both these pedigrees are lost in obscurity; but what the world "says is this, that they are the offspring of mal-alliances between two "Brahman brothers, and women of the Ahīr and Dharkar tribe. The "Amethia is not an unimportant clan. They call themselves Chamār-gor "Rājpūts, and their generations are not longer than the other named. "What the world says of this, is that a Chamār-gor is the offspring of a "Chamār father and a Gor-Brahman woman. Moreover within the memory "of man, an Amethia Chief has, according to Sleeman, taken to wife the "grand-daughter of an ex-Pāsī Chowkildar and raised up orthodox seed "unto himself. The Raotars are another numerous clan with but half the "number of generations, and with precisely a similar parentage as the Kan-"pūriās (Brahman-Ahīr). Their name is taken from Rawat, an Ahīr chief. "The Pulwars are influential and numerous, and of these it is said that they "are descended from a common ancestor, who had four wives, of whom "one only was of his own status, the others being a *Bharin*, an *Ahīrin*, and "another low caste woman. Here we have a Hindu-Bhar origin freely "admitted. The Bhalesaltan clan, also, is comparatively modern, and of "equivocal Ahīr origin. There are numerous families of Bais, too, who are "in no way related to the Tilokchandī Bais of Baiswāṛā. The former are "modern and equivocal, the term Bais being, it may be mentioned, the most "ready gate by which enlistment into the fraternity of Rājpūts could for-"merly be achieved.... Finally, all those landowning families, who can only "urge an indigenous origin, must, whether they admit it or not, recognise "the fact that they are descendants of Bhars, for every acre of land was

but Buddhism and Jainism were naturally more popular than any other foreign religion.[45]

A considerable number of Bhārs fills the post of village policemen, while others are ploughmen, but the vast majority of this race are now in a miserable condition.

In spite of the abilities they exhibit when suitably employed, and in spite of the reputation of their ancestors which has survived to this day, the descendants of the ancient rulers of the land have now lost nearly everything and are reduced to the most abject condition.

The Mārs, Mhārs, Mahārs, Mhairs or Mers.

While speaking about the Mallas I availed myself, on pp. 49 and 50, of the opportunity of introducing the Mahārs or Mhārs, whom I recognised as the people who had given their name to *Mahārāṣṭra.* But it was not to that country alone that the Mahārs were confined, for they have always been occupants of Rājputāna. The provinces which now go by the name of (Ajmere) Mhairwāra and (Jodhpur) Mārwār are their ancient home. "The *Mair* or *Mera* is," according to Colonel Tod, "the mountaineer of Rajpootana, and the country he "inhabits is styled *Mairwarra* or the region of hills." These hillmen by and bye populated the plain and are also found there.[46] They remained masters of the soil until they were ousted later on by victorious invaders. As chiefs and warriors, like other aboriginal tribes, they have a claim to be

"owned, and the country was throughout peopled by these alone and by "no others."—Compare also the article "On the Bhar Kings of Eastern Oudh," by W. C. Benett, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, 1872, pp. 265 and 266.

[45] Compare *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XLV, p. 303.

[46] See *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod, vol. I, 680.—The name of *Mārwār* is generally connected with Sanskrit *maru*, desert, mountain, rock. I believe this derivation to be wrong, though it gives a pretty good explanation of the diversified nature of the country, which is hilly in one part and arid in the other.

called Rājputs, for the name of Rājput or Rājaputra confers only a social, and not an ethnological distinction. The term Rājput is generally applied to an Aryan Kṣatriya, though everybody knows that the victors intermarried freely with the vanquished non-Aryans, who were never totally annihilated, and that the Mārs and other non-Aryan tribes claim relationship with the Rājputs.

No real ethnological difference between a Mār (Mhār, Mahār) and a Mhair (Mer) has been found to exist. It has been previously mentioned that, according to Colonel Dalton, "Mār or Māla is a very uncertain name applied "to or assumed by different people in different parts of India, "but it may be that there is some affinity between all the "tribes who bear it."[47]

Many Mārs (Mhārs) have clung to their hills as strongholds; some have comfortably settled down as cultivators, while by far the greater part are exposed in consequence of their indigence to severe oppression, and are treated like Pariahs. In fact, the history of the Mār (Mhār) resembles that of the Bhār and the Pariah, and, like the latter, he has also retained in the Dekhan a small amount of influence. For, according to Mr. R. N. Gooddine, "he is the "watchman and guardian of the village and the living chro-"nicle of its concerns. His situation or his curiosity makes "him acquainted with everybody's affairs, and his evidence "is required in every dispute. Should two cultivators quarrel "respecting the boundaries of their fields, the Mhār's evidence "ought to decide it, and should a similar quarrel happen "between two villages, the Mhārs are always the chief actors

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[47] See Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, 681; Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. I, 97: "All the inhabitants of Mhairwārā bear the common title of Mairs or hillmen, which, however, must be regarded rather as a geographical than as a social or religious distinction;" and VII, 514, "Most of these (the Mīnas and Mhairs) claim irregular descent by half-blood from Rājputs, while some of them are closely connected with the Bhīls."

"in it, and to their decision alone it is sometimes referred. "The Mhār is emphatically called the *village-eye*."[48]

The Maṟavar.

The *Maṟavar* in Madura and Tinnevelly likewise claim the position of Rājputs, and if we regard them as a warrior tribe, they are entitled to this distinction. They are also most probably in some way connected with the Mārs of the north. The Maṟavar have to a great extent preserved their freedom and independence. They are brave, warlike, and self-willed like most semi-barbarous races, but they have latterly taken to more peaceful pursuits than they used to follow formerly. They were once very numerous, but are now greatly reduced in numbers. Their chief is the *Sētupati* of *Ramnād,* one of the oldest and most respected princes in Southern India, and who is still highly honored by,

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[48] See this extract from Mr. R. N. Gooddine's Report on the "Village Communities of the Dekhan," in vol. II, pp. 207-208 of Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes,* as well as Sherring's further remarks.

Mr. W. F. Sinclair says (see *Indian Antiquary,* vol. III, 1874, pp. 130, 131): "The *Mahārs* or *Dheḍs* are the most important caste of Parwārīs. Whether they are the aborigines of the country or not, there does not seem to be any way of deciding; but it seems to me that the term Mahārāshṭra, generally translated 'country of the Marāṭhās,' is at least as likely to mean 'country of the Mahārs;' and I throw this out for more learned Sanskritists to decide upon. However, they are a very important people in it now, nor must it be supposed that their position, though socially low, is without its rights and dignities . . . The Mahār, as I have mentioned, is not only the guardian of boundaries, but also of the public peace and health, as watchman and scavenger; of communications, for he should guide travellers and make petty road repairs; and of the public treasure and correspondence, for it is his duty to carry the revenue to the treasury, and convey all messages on account of Government. It will be seen that he has no sinecure (and) . . it is obvious that he is not one 'of the Queen's bad bargains.' These duties belong to the Mahār as *yeskar*, or village watchman . . . But the *Tarāl* or gate-ward, an officer found in a good many villages, is generally also a Mahār by caste. The term *Dheḍ* is simply Hindustanī for a Mahār and is found as we go northward." Compare "Two Lectures on the Aboriginal Race of India," by Lieut.-General Briggs, *Royal Asiatic Soc. Journal,* XIII, pp. 275-309, specially p. 281. See my remarks about the origin of the term *Mahārāṣṭra* on pp. 50 and 51.

and exacts honors from, the surrounding chiefs and princes. The active life which the Maṛavan leads in the open air has imparted to him great bodily strength. He can be easily distinguished from other natives by his good figure and generally erect and proud bearing.[49]

The Pariah, Pahāria, Parheya, the Brahui, Bār or Bhār and the Mār, Mhār or Mahār of our day should, as I hope to have proved, be regarded as the descendants of the original Dravidian population. I am of opinion that all these tribes, whose names contain the letter *r*, are the representatives of the first and oldest stratum of the Dravidian race, and that the descendants of the *Malla* or *Palla* are those of the second stage, from which the other part of the present Dravidian population has been gradually evolved.

Religious and Social Privileges enjoyed by Pariahs.

In Mysore the *Holiya* or *Holeya* (ಹೊಲಿಯು, ಹೊಲೆಯು takes the place of the Pariah. The word Holiya may be another form for Pulaiya, unless we assume that the *l* in Holiya is a change from *r* and connect the word Holiya with Paṛaiya.

However despised a position the Pariah and the Holiya occupy in the places where they live, they have preserved and still cherish, as the Mhār and Bhār do, the memory of former greatness and regard themselves as the original owners of the soil. Political revolutions, about which we now know nothing, have most probably been the cause of

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49 Maṛavan also means originally *mountaineer*, but Mr. Nelson in his *Manual of Madura*, has quoted (II, p. 39) a legend, according to which the Maravar sided with Rāma against Rāvaṇa, and Rāma thanked them and "exclaimed in good Tamil, *Mararēn* or 'I will never forget'; and that they "have ever since been called Maravans. With more probability the name "may be connected with the word *maram*, மறம், which means killing, "ferocity, bravery and the like." See Nelson's *Manual*, II, p. 38–42, on the Maṛavar.

their subversion by other kindred Dravidian tribes. Yet, considering the unstable nature of the Indian states, the continual disturbances and fighting which give to Indian history such an unpleasant and unsatisfactory appearance, there seems nothing peculiar in the claims advanced by those Pariahs, who are in reality the descendants of the original inhabitants. The Pariah calls himself to this day the elder brother of the Brahman, claiming in this manner precedence of the Brahman. The Brahmans on the other hand ascribe the origin of the Pariahs, Caṇḍālas, and other low castes to the connection of Brahman women with low caste men, or to the curse which sages, like Viśvāmitra, were so fond of uttering against their own flesh and blood, or against any one who was unfortunate enough to come across them at an inauspicious moment. The legend of the curse of Viśvāmitra's sons is interesting, as it ascribes to them the origin of some wild tribes like the Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, and Pulindas.[50]

The Pariahs have according to the *Ñānaveṭṭi* eighteen titles like the Veḷḷāḷar and possess also the same insignia.[51]

The chief goddess of the Pariahs is called *Āttāḷ* or *Ammāḷ*, mother, and represents Pārvatī as mother of the earth, while

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[50] The elder fifty of the hundred sons of *Viśvāmitra* offended their father, and being cursed by him, became outcastes and the forefathers of all the wild tribes.

According to an old tradition, found in the Purāṇas and retold in the *Kulasaṅkaramālā* of Vēṅkaṭācalācāryar of Rāyapuram and in the Kanarese *Sōmēśvaraśataka*, Vasiṣṭha was the son of Urvaśī, the famous divine prostitute, and the husband of a Caṇḍāla woman of the Cakkili caste, who was in reality *Arundhatī*, reborn as a Caṇḍālī. As such she bore him one hundred sons, ninety-six of whom disobeyed their father and reverted to the Pañcama (fifth) or Pariah caste, while the four others remained Brahmans.—*Agastya* was, as already intimated on p. 52, n. 25, in this birth the brother of Vasiṣṭha.

[51] Among these insignia are mentioned the following: white, earth-circle umbrellas; lion, swan, green and white, monkey (*Hanuman*), cuckoo, plough-handle, wheel and lion faced flags; a trumpet; closely carried torches (*aruku*) and day torches; victorious bells, two white chowries, white elephant; white horse; ivory palanquins; cuscus fan, flute; white petticoat, two poles with cloth across the street (*makaratōraṇa*), golden pot, &c.

as *Piḍari* she resembles through her evil inclinations Kālī. Different personifications of Pārvatī and Kālī are variously named, as Vēḷāttāḷ (Ēḷāttāḷ), Nāgāttāḷ, Ēgāttāḷ, Cēmāttāḷ, Māriyāttāḷ or Māriyamman, Aṅgāḷamman, Ellamman, Puṅganamman (Puṅgāttāḷ), &c. Temples are found everywhere in South India, and she is generally the village goddess. *Māriyamman*, the goddess who inflicts and removes small-pox and other diseases, is found among the Gauda-Dravidians of the whole of India.

The feasts of these goddesses extend over a week and last occasionally sixteen days. During the whole of this time a Pariah is kept clothed and fed in the temple as the accepted bridegroom of the goddess. High across the streets festoons of margosa leaves are hung, and on the last day, while pots filled with water are carried by the people and the idol is taken in procession round the streets of the village, tom-toms are beaten in honor of the Pariah bridegroom, and after he has fasted and bathed, he gets a new cloth dyed with saffron, and the priest fastens a quarter anna piece to the right hand of the goddess and another to that of the Pariah. This ceremony is called *kāppu*, காப்பு.

The name Vēlāttāḷ is commonly explained as mother of Subrahmaṇya, from Vēḷ and Āttāḷ. Nāgāttāḷ is regarded to signify the same from Nāgan (Subrahmaṇya) and Āttāḷ. Some Tamil scholars however do not favor this explanation. When revered in these forms Pārvatī or Kanyākumārī is regarded as a Pariah woman or Mātaṅgī.

The Pariahs enjoy even now, in many places, privileges, the origin of which cannot be explained except by admitting the existence of substantial reasons, which have long been forgotten. A Pariah ties to this day the tāli round the neck of Ēgāttāḷ, the tutelary goddess of Black Town in Madras. The Pariah, who acts as tho bridegroom, arrives at the temple about ten days before the feast commences and is treated as described above. At *Perambūr*, near Madras, the same deity

is called *Cēmāttāḻ*, mother of safety. In Mysore a Holiya is generally the priest of the village goddess, and the Kulvādi or Pariah headman of the village community is regarded as the real proprietor of the village. At Mēlkōṭa a Holiya presents to Celvapiḻḻai, or utsava-idol, which is thus called as it is carried in procession at the festival, a branch of the Cami or Vahni tree to be used as an arrow for his bow at the hunting festival (*pārivēṭṭai*), and while the idol is moving in procession, a Pariah huntsman lets a hare run across the road in front of the car that the god may shoot at it; this done, the idol returns in grand procession to the temple. The Pariah receives as a reward (*pāritoṣikam*) a garland, the flowers of which are distributed among the heads of the large conflux of Pariahs. This hunting festival is in Malayālam called *paḻḻivetta*, or royal hunt. It is just possible that *pāri* and *paḻḻi* are identical words. The Holiyas pull the car at Mēlkōṭa and are not debarred from approaching it. They pull also the ropes of the cars at Kāñcipuram, Kumbhakōnam, Śrīvalliputtūr, and other places. In fact they do so wherever there are big temples. To obviate any unpleasantness arising on such occasions, it is laid down, as a rule, that the touch of Pariahs and outcastes who come to revere the deity does not pollute.

Dēvālayasamīpasthān dēvasēvārtham āgatān
Caṇḍālān patitān vāpi spṛṣṭvā na snānam ācarēt.[52]

The Holiyas are permitted in Mēlkōṭa to enter the Tirunārāyaṇa temple on three days of the year. The Brahmans ascribe this privilege to the circumstance that a poor but pious Pariah had observed that a cow approached every day a white ant's hole and let her milk drop into it. He searched and discovered that the image of Celvapiḻḻai was concealed in it. In consequence, the Pariah took compassion on the cow

[52] One need not bathe if one touches Caṇḍālas or outcastes, who stand near the temple and have come to worship God.

and supplied her daily with fodder. The great Vaiṣṇava reformer, Bhagavat Rāmānujācārya, had at the same time been dreaming of this Celvapiḷḷai image, and the Pariah showed it to him. As a reward for this act of piety, Rāmānujācārya allowed the Pariahs to enter the temple in future for three days of the year. Others say that this favor was granted because the Pariahs had protected him in their paṟaicēri, when he was pursued. Very likely, the privilege is of older origin. A similar custom prevails in *Kadiri*.[53]

It is most peculiar that the origin of the famous Jagannātha temple is also closely connected with the low-caste Pariahs. A *Śavara* mountaineer, called *Bāsu*, worshipped in secret the blue stone image of Jagannātha, to obtain which the powerful king of Mālva, Indradyumna, had despatched Brahmans to all quarters of the world. One of them penetrated at last into the wilderness where Bāsu lived. Bāsu detained the Brahman, made him marry his daughter, and led him after some time blindfolded to the place where the image of Jagannātha was lying concealed. The Brahman

[53] Compare "Archæological Notes," by M. J. Walhouse in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, 1874, p. 191: "It is well known that the servile castes in Southern India once held far higher positions, and were indeed masters of the land on the arrival of the Brahmanical caste. Many curious vestiges of their ancient power still survive in the shape of certain privileges, which are jealously cherished, and, their origin being forgotten, are much misunderstood. These privileges are remarkable instances of survivals from an extinct order of society—shadows of long-departed supremacy, bearing witness to a period when the present haughty high-caste races were suppliants before the ancestors of degraded classes whose touch is now regarded as pollution. At Mēlkotta, the chief seat of the followers of Rāmanuja Acharya, and at the Brāhmaṇ temple at Bailur, the Holeyars or Pareyars have the right of entering the temple on three days in the year, specially set apart for them. At the 'bull-games' at Dindigal, in the Madura district, which have some resemblance to Spanish bull-fights, and are very solemn celebrations, the Kallār, or robber caste, can alone officiate as priests and consult the presiding deity. On this occasion they hold quite a Saturnalia of lordship and arrogance over the Brāhmaṇs. In the great festival of Śiva at Trivalūr, in Tanjore the head-man of the Pareyars is mounted on the elephant with the god, and carries his *chauri*. In Madras, at the annual festival of the goddess of the Black Town, when a *tāli* is tied round the neck of the idol *in the*

worshipped the god, and, after the lapse of some time, was able to communicate his discovery to the king. As the king was very proud of his power, the god Jagannātha, in order to punish his pride, did allow him to build the temple, but did not manifest himself personally to Indradyumna. This favor was granted him after prolonged delay, and it was only with the help of the Śavara Bāsu that the image could finally be obtained and removed. Until very recently, pilgrims of all castes and outcastes frequented Puri and partook together of their meals, as the presence of Jagannātha is said to destroy all distinctions of caste, race, and faith ; but now out-castes are no longer allowed to enter the sanctuary and to join in the eating of holy food, though the food prepared and sanctified at Puri can be eaten by Brahmans anywhere, even in the presence of the lowest people. The descendants of Bāsu are thus debarred from worshipping personally their own divinity.

Many Pariahs have attained high renown as poets and saints. Take for example, *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyanār*, the author

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name of the entire community, a Pareyar is chosen to represent the bridegroom. In Madras, too, the mercantile caste, and in Vizagapatam the Brāhmaṇs, had to go through the form of asking the consent of the lowest castes to their marriages, though the custom has not died out." See J. Gribble's *Manual of Cuddapah*, p. 241.

See *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* by Bishop Caldwell, second edition, p. 548 : "Thus, at the annual festival of Ēgāttāḷ, the only mother—a form of Kālī, and the tutelary goddess of the 'Black Town' of Madras—when a *tāli*, or bridal necklace (answering to our wedding ring), was tied round the neck of the idol in the name of the entire community, a Pareiya used to be chosen to represent the people as the goddess' bridegroom."

I am indebted to the Rev. H. Jensen of the Danish Lutheran Mission for my statement concerning the continuation of the service of a Pariah at the Ēgaṭṭāḷ temple in Black Town.

Major J. S. F. Mackenzie has contributed on p. 36 of volume VIII of the *Indian Antiquary* an article on the "Customs of the Comti Caste." Most of the statements that note contains I have repeatedly heard in Madras, and I myself possess some documents confirming them. I quote this subject here merely as it ought not to be entirely omitted, and as it affords strong evidence of the great influence and authority once enjoyed by the now-despised Pariahs—an influence which apparently is exercised even at the present time.

The five classes of artisans—the carpenters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, braziers, and masons, well known in Southern India as *Pañcāḻar* or *Kammāḻar*—regard themselves as the real Brahmans and, as the descendants of the divine artificer *Viśvakarma*, call themselves Viśva Brahmans. They assume the title of *Ácārya*, wear the holy thread, and claim the right to perform religious ceremonies among themselves, especially at marriages. They further declare that there were originally five Vēdas, but that *Vēda Vyāsa*, in order to curtail their privileges, suppressed the fifth and arranged the other four in such a manner as suited Vyāsa and the false Brahmans whom he headed; that he tried to win the reigning king over to his side, and, when he did not succeed, that he instigated the king's murder and placed an illegitimate son on the throne, who conferred on Vyāsa the dignity of priest of the royal family. According to one version Vyāsa induced the king to issue a proclamation, enacting that all those who sided with the king should be styled right-hand caste men, and all those who opposed him left-hand caste men. Another tradition asserts that Vyāsa's right hand was cut off by a bigoted Śaiva, who heard Vyāsa swear with his uplifted right hand that Viṣṇu was superior to Śiva and that he had never in his Purāṇas opposed Viṣṇu.[57] Others transfer these

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or, as commonly though improperly called, *the right and left hand castes*; the former including the whole of the agricultural tribes, who endeavour, under a different order of things, to maintain their ancient pre-eminence; the latter, including chiefly the trading and manufacturing tribes, who endeavour, and in modern days generally with success, to evade it."—According to the late Dr. Burnell (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, (1873), p. 274): "The distinction arises primarily from the landowners and their serfs being the heads of one class, and the Brahmans, artizans, and other interlopers forming the other. But the constituent castes of either party vary." The Pañcālas or Kammāḻar are known in Tamil by the title of *Ācāri* ஆசாரி.

So far as I am informed, and as I have stated above, the Brahmans are not included in either faction, though some lists mention them as partisans.

[57] Compare the *Decision of the Cittūr Jillā Court* (చిత్తూరు జిల్లా అదాలతు కోర్టు తీర్పు) printed at Cittūr, 1881, on these dissensions. An account

events to Kāñcipuram, and declare that, when the two opposed parties brought their complaints before the Pallava king reigning over the Cōla country, the Kammāḷar, Bēri Ceṭṭies and their friends were sitting on the left hand of the king and the Veḷḷāḷar and their adherents on the right hand. The left-hand side is regarded by the Kammāḷar as the place of honor.

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is given on page 29 of the circumstances in which Vyāsa lost his hand. His opponent is in this Cittūr Decision described as వీరముష్టియైన అతడు. *Vīramuṣṭi* means a Vīra Śaiva or Jaṅgama, who precedes a procession, holding a shield and brandishing a sword. He is also called Vṛṣabhēśvara. The Skandapurāṇa contains also the story about the cutting off of Vyāsa's arm. Captain J. S. T. Mackenzie connects the *Vyasanu-tōlu Kallu* (Vyasana's armstone) found in Mysore with this event. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, (1873), p. 49.

As the Pañcālar claim the privilege of being their own priests and the Brahmans oppose this claim, many disputes and even serious disturbances of the public peace have ensued. Such was the case, *e.g.*, at Cittūr in 1817. Through the kindness of the present Judge at Cittūr, Mr. Crole, I have obtained a copy of the judgment from which I give the following extracts:

After mentioning the names of the plaintiffs and the six defendants it begins: "1. This suit was brought against the defendants by the plaintiffs to recover Rs. 530¼ damages on account of the defendants having prevented the plaintiffs from celebrating a marriage in their family.

"The record consists of the plaint, three answers, one reply and two rejoinders . . . 2. The plaintiffs in this suit call themselves Kammālars, the descendants of five Brahmas. The Kammālars follow five crafts, namely, that of carpenter, blacksmith, goldsmith, mason and brass-smith. 3. The plaintiffs state that they and their tribe have been accustomed, and that they consider themselves entitled, and have resolved, to conduct their own marriages, and other domestic and religious ceremonies without the interference of the Brahmins, to which tribe the defendants belong. The plaintiffs maintain that one of their own tribe is their *Guru*, and performs their religious rites, and that they will not attend to, nor employ a Brahmin therein, and they state their confidence that no Court of Justice can give the defendants or Brahmins liberty to enter their houses by force to officiate at their ceremonies, moreover, they stat that they are neither of the Vaisya nor Sudra tribes, but are descendants of Brahma and that therefore they do not require Brahmins to officiate for them. That moreover they, the plaintiffs are Deva, or divine Brahmins, and that the defendants are *Go* or cow Brahmins who were originally Sudras, and by certain penance and ceremonies obtained Brahminism, and that they, the plaintiffs, can prove their right from the Veda, Smriti and Vasishthapurānum and the Silpa Śāstram. 4. The principal defendants, namely, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th maintain that they are Brahmins of the Siva Bhakti and have a right to perform the ceremonios

The charge of having suppressed the fifth Vēda is very extraordinary indeed, especially if one considers that the original number of the Vēdas is indicated by the name *Trayī*, or Trinity, representing the Ṛg, Yajur and Sāma Vēdas, and that the fourth or Atharvavēda is generally ascribed to a later period. The existence and destruction of a fifth Vēda, assuming such a work to have ever existed, must therefore be assigned to a comparatively late or modern time.

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and religious rites of the plaintiffs who they state to be Sankaras, or outcastes of the Sudra tribe. The defendants in consequence deny that the plaintiffs could ever become Brahmins, though they were born again ever so many times. Moreover that if the plaintiffs think proper to perform the marriage and other ceremonies using forms of prayers taken from the Veda they will not only be liable to suffer a great punishment in their next birth, but to be punished criminally by the executors of the law appointed by Government, who they state would never suffer the plaintiffs to perform any ceremonies contrary to the law of their sect, to ascertain which the defendants request that the opinion of the law officer of the Court may be taken on the subject. 5. The above is the sum of the difference between the parties. . . 9. The evidence in this case is very long and contradictory, but the Court has no doubt from a consideration thereof but that the defendants did actually, seriously and violently molest the plaintiffs in the celebration of a marriage which the plaintiffs were celebrating though they (the defendants) did not actually prevent it, as the marriage took place notwithstanding their interference, though not without the plaintiffs meeting with much obstruction from the defendants. 10. It is a notorious fact which the plaintiff's witnesses have deposed to, that the plantiffs and persons of the Kammālar caste (like Kannadiyar, Satānis and Jainas) do frequently celebrate their religious festivals without calling in the Brahmins of any other sect to aid them in the performance of any part thereof. The plaintiffs have declared that they admit those marriages only to be perfectly regular, which are celebrated by Gurus of their own appointment. They do not admit the superiority of any other tribe to themselves. These opinions they state to be according to the Hindu Sāstra, but it is a point and a right, which it is well known the Siva and Vishnu Brahmins do not admit, and therefore it has not been considered necessary to consult on this subject the pandits of the Courts, no more than if it were a question of law regarding a religious difference between any other sect and the Brahmins, on which they never would agree. If the plaintiffs, who deny the superiority of the defendants as Brahmins do in their tribe choose to follow or relinquish any ancient custom or to establish any new ceremony which is not contrary to honesty, decorum, and the peace of the country, neither the defendants nor any other persons have any right to interfere, nor would the officers of Government

The division of the population into right-hand and left-hand castes occurred most likely simultaneously with the religious agitation which introduced into Southern India the now prevailing Brahmanical supremacy. The imminent decay of the Jaina power opened a fair prospect to the Brahmans of which they were not slow to take advantage. They gathered round them their followers, while their opponents, who represented in certain respects the national party, did the same. This movement seems to have been originally

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ever interfere, if it should not appear to be necessary for the peace of the country. It appears that marriages celebrated by Gurus of the plaintiffs own sect have been for a long period at least admitted by a very great body (if not perhaps by the whole) of them, and at all events are now by them acknowledged to be good and proper and valid, and according to *their* interpretation of the Sāstra perfectly conformable thereto. No other sects therefore have any right to interfere, especially a sect (namely that of the defendants or Smarta Brahmins) which the plaintiffs do not acknowledge to be superior to them; for the plaintiffs' rejection of them (the defendants, the Smarta Brahmins) as their spiritual guides or Gurus is what the defendants themselves acknowledge that any Hindu is at liberty to do. Thousands among themselves (the Smarta Brahmins) have of late years left them and from being Siva bhaktars have become Vishnu bhaktars, and have consequently chosen the Gurus of another sect to be their Gurus. Had the plaintiffs introduced ever so many innovations into their ceremonies (which they do not appear to have done), as they do not admit that the defendants have any more concern with them (the plaintiffs) than they (the plaintiffs) have with the defendants (Brahmins), the latter had no business to go near them on the occasion of the celebration of their marriage. They (the defendants) have no right to force themselves as Purohitas upon any tribe who do not acknowledge them, as their superiors, and Purohitas. In the opinion of the Courts the plaintiffs were, and are, fully entitled to perform (the marriage in question or any other) their religious ceremonies in such a manner as the tribe to which they belong may from time to time establish to be the rule and form of their caste, and it is so decreed accordingly . . . Given under my hand and the seal of the Court this twenty-eighth day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty.

(Signed) JOSEPH DACRE,
Judge."

In 1843 a similar case was tried in Salem before a Brahman, N. Krishnamāchāryulu . . . A Pañcālan, Rāmalingāchāri, for claiming certain rights, had been insulted and severely beaten by some persons, and his sacred thread had also been torn to pieces. The defendants pleaded that Rāmalingāchāri, as belonging to the Goldsmith caste (or *Kamsalajāti* in Telugu) had no right to study the Vēda and to undertake any Prāyaścitta, or any other religious cere-

confined to Southern India, its centre being at Kāñcipuram, the seat of so many religious and political dissensions, where there are to this day special halls for both parties, called Valaṅkai-maṇṭapams and Itaṅkai-maṇṭapams.[58] As the Paḷḷar and the Pariahs belong to different hands and the Vaḷḷuvar are the priests of both, the division into right-hand and left-hand castes must very probably have taken place after the Vaḷḷuvar had obtained this position. At the time of *Bhagavat Rāmānujācārya* this division into right-hand and left-hand castes was already an acknowledged institution, as different hours were assigned to right and left hand people for entering the Celvapiḷḷai temple at *Mēlkōṭa*, which place is also called *Patitapāvanakṣētra*, *i.e.*, the field where even outcastes can be purified. The influence of the Jainas was perhaps strongest in towns where the artisan classes form an important and powerful portion of the population, while the Brahmans appealed to the land-owning and agricultural classes, whom they won over by entreaties or by threats. The Brahmans have not joined and strictly speaking do not belong to either side, but their interests lie mainly with the right side. As in various localities the same castes have embraced different sides, it is difficult to assign to all a permanent position. Yet, on the whole, the principal parties on both sides are always the same.[59]

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mony, whose performance is a privilege of the Brahmans, and that the Kamsalajāti ranked according to the Dharmaśāstra among the Grāmacaṇḍālas. The Court concurred in this view and the case was dismissed, Rāmaliṅgāchāri paying costs. See *Sēlam Jillā Tīrmānavu*, Madras, 1886.

[58] On p. 326 of the *Jātisangrahasāra* (in Tamil ஜாதிசங்கிரகசாரம்) is mentioned a copperplate order or *Tāmraśāsanam* which confirms the position of the Vanniyar, they held at Kāñci during the reign of *Sukhakalyāṇa* in the 762nd year of Śālivāhana Śaka; but, though it is stated there, that this Śāsanam is still preserved, no one seems ever to have seen it.

[59] The quarrels and actual fights which occurred between these hostile parties have given rise to much litigation before Magistrates and Judges, especially in the Chinglepnt and North-Arcot districts. The judgment of George Coleman, Judge and Magistrate of Chingleput, dated the 25th July

This dissension must have seriously affected, for some time at least, the agricultural, mechanical, and commercial interests of the country, for, as both parties were stubborn, a great deal of inconvenience must have been felt, till each party was able to supply its own wants. The right-hand side had in these circumstances to seek a fresh supply of artisans until the necessary knowledge was acquired by men in its own ranks. Some who joined it were perhaps deserters from

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1809, specifies the different people of both hands, gives their emblems, flags and instruments, and fixes certain privileges.

I have applied to the Court and gone to Chingleput with the express purpose to obtain a copy of this important judgment from the District Court, but it could not be found among the records, though many decisions of less consequence and of earlier years are still extant.

However, through the exertions of Mr. A. Krishnasvamy Iyer, B.A., an official of the Accountant-General's Office, and a much esteemed former pupil of mine, I have been able to secure a Tamil manuscript copy of the judgment. On the *right hand* are enumerated the *Vēḻāḻar* and *Kavaraikaḻ* with the following insignia : white umbrella, white flag, curved fan, chowry, arukuṭīvaṭṭi, plough, plough-flag, monkey-flag, cuckoo-flag, parrot-flag, bell, conch, wheel stick, big-drum, green, blue lotus garland, *Ātti* flag, *Tavanṭai*, trumpet; 2, *Vaṭuka Vēḻāḻar* (Northern or Telugu Veḻḻāḻar) with swan flag; 3, *Reḍḍikaḻ* with plough flag; 4, *Kammavārukaḻ* (agricultural labourers) with bull-flag; 5, *Kontaḻavarkaḻ* with chakora flag; 6, *Nattamān* with Āḻi flag; 7 *Malaiyamān* with *Aritāḻa* or *Śrītala* flag; 8 *Kōmaṭṭikaḻ* (merchants) with cotton-flag, *Makaratōraṇam*-drum, Vimumayir, Iṭimuracu; 9, *Iṭaiyar* (shepherds) with wheel; 10, *Vaṭuka Iṭaiyar* (Telugu shepherds) with conch; 11, *Kaṉṉiṭaiyar* (Kanarese shepherds), with tent, . . . five-coloured flag; 12, *Patmacāliyar* (weavers) with tiger vehicle, male tiger flag; 13, *Paṭṭucāliyar* (silk weavers) with two-headed bird flag; 14, *Vaṭukacēṇiyar* (northern weavers) with jasmine flag, Nākapācam, five-coloured flag; 15, *Jāṇṭravar* (Telugu weavers) with crocodile; 16, *Kaṉṉiṭaiya-Cēṉiyar* (Kanarese weavers) with wild jasmine garland, big eagle flag, Vicurutanṭai; 17, *Paṭṭunūlkāṟar* (silk thread weavers) with silk flag; 18, *Cēṭar* (weavers) with tortoise flag, and *Koliñci* flag; 19, *Cēkkuvāṇiyar* (oilpress mongers) with cedaiceṭi (cenṭu-tonṭu), eḻḻurāci, sesamum-leaf garland, garuḍa-flag, drum; 20, *Iḻaivāṇiyar* (leaf oil mongers) with kovai-garland, drum, cuckoo flag; 21, *Onṭi erutu vāṉṉiyar* (one bullock oil mongers) with five-coloured parrot flag; 22, *Jaṇappar* (hemp dressers) with chowry flag; 23, *Mucciyar* (painters, &c.,) with makara flag; 24, *Kāñciyar* (braziers) with Poti flag; 25, *Vētakārar* (basketmakers) with Cikkiri flag, wooden-legged horse, sword flag; 26, *Nari cōkiyar* (Fox-beggars) with dog flag; 27, *Tamiḻ Kucavar* (potters), *Vaṭuka Kucavar* (Telugu potters), *Kuca Kaṇakkar*; 28, *Mēḻakkāṟar* (flooters) with drum flag; 29, *Naṭṭuvar* (dancing masters) with cymbal flag; 30, *Dācikaḻ*

the hostile camp, while others were outsiders, Muhammadan artisans, for instance, who were allowed to earn their living in the Hindu community by following their profession.

The fifth caste formed of outcastes is in consequence of this dissension divided into two great hostile camps, on the right side are ranged the Pariahs, and on the left side the Cakkilis or leather-workers. It appears that there prevails in some parts of the South the peculiar phrase: "the Pariahs

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(dancing girls) with Manmatha flag; 31, *Cāṇār* and *Īḻar* (toddy-drawers) with kuriñci flag, knife and ladder; 32, *Kuṟavar* (mountaineers, foresters, snake-catchers, basketmakers, salt-sellers), with donkey flag; 33, *Cukkār ceṭṭi lampāṭikaḻ* (salt-sellers) with picturesque flag; 34, *Vēṭṭakkārar* (hunters) with sling flag; 35, *Paṭṭanavar* (?) with tortoise flag; 36, *Karaiyar* (sea-coastmen) with fish flag; 37, *Oṭṭar* (road-makers and tank-diggers from Orissa) with spade flag; 38, *Uppaṟavar* (common tank-diggers) with pig flag; 39, *Pōyi* (bearers) with palanquin flag; 40, Paṇiceyvōrkaḻ (?) (menial servants?) with Tārai (trumpet) flag; 41, *Tamiḻ Vaṇṇār* and *Vaṭuka Vaṇṇār* (Tamil and Telugu washermen) with curved knife, lotus garland and white elephant; 42, *Tamiḻ Nāvitar* (Tamil barbers) with tumpai garland, animal with human face; 43, *Vaṭuka Nāvitar* (Telugu barbers) with nākasaram (musical instrument); 44, *Tompuravar* (rope-dancers) with Keṭai flag; 45, *Māriyamman Pucārikaḻ* (Māriyamman priests) with small drum flag; 46, *Pucārikaḻ* with hollow brass ring flag; 47, *Iruḻar* (wild foresters) with iron bar flag; 48, *Arippukkār Kavarai* (kavarai weavers) with lotus flag; 49, *Vaṭuka Paṇṭāram* (northern mendicants) with battle-axe flag; 50, *Vañcūrār* (?) with pearl flag; 51, *Kuṭukuṭuppaikāraḻ* (soothsaying beggars) with sákti flag; 52, *Enāti* (forestmen) with hare flag; 53, *Kalācukāṟar* (lascars) with cart flag; 54, *Veḷikkarumār* excommunicated blacksmiths) with bellows and hammer flag; 55, *Veḷikal taccar* (excommunicated carpenters) with chisel flag; 56, *Kappal taccar* (ship carpenters) with adze flag; 57, *Kappal vaṭukar* (Telugu sailors) with ship flag; 58, *Paṇṭar* (bards) with sword flag.

The people and ensigns of the fifth class are—1, *Pavuniyar* or *Paḻanikal* (processionists) with ḍamara (drum) flag; 2, *Vaḷḷuvar*, *Māvaṭṭiyār* and *Veṭṭiyār* (mahaut), *Paṟaiyar* and *Paṇṭapaṟaiyar* with white umbrella, white chowry, white flag, conch, vajra stick, trumpet (tamukku), drum (tappaṭṭai), pāṅka (trumpet), tuttāri (short trumpet), big tuttāri, paṟaiya music, five pots and white makara (alligator) festoons.

The *left hand* musters 1, *Pēri Ceṭṭikaḻ* (Bēri merchants) with kite flag; 2, *Nakara Vāṇiyar* (town oil-mongers) with *toṇṭu* garland and garland of nine gems; 3, *Kaikkōḻar* (weavers) with tiruvaraipattiram, aḍakkam, lance, male vulture, lion flag, bear flag, deer flag, peacock flag, cuckoo flag, drum; 4, *Kammāḻar* (artisans). [This class is composed of the *Taṭṭār* (goldsmiths), *Kannār* (braziers), *Cirpar* (masons), *Kollar* (blacksmiths) and *Taccar* (car-

are not left-hand people, they belong to the Tamils ;" an expression whose exact meaning it is difficult to make out especially as a *Tamiḻan* or Tamulian denotes, in Madras, a Hindu in general, and not a Pariah.[60] I believe that the meaning of this phrase is that, as the Tamiḻar or Veḷḷāḷar, the masters of the Pariahs and principal Śūdras, are right hand men, so are their dependents, the Pariahs. The Pariahs enjoy

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penters) ; the word Kammāḷa is most likely the Sanskrit Kammāra, which occurs already in the Vēda in the meaning of artificer.] With hammer, chisel, adze, compass or ulakaṇi, stick, parrot flag, eagle flag, or white kite flag ; 5, *Paḷḷikaḷ* with big axe, crane feather, vēṅkai garland, red lotus garland, crow flag, cloud-coloured flag, fire flag, cock flag, vulture flag, fox flag, date flag, stone flag, green flag, hair-queue flag, drum and bow, kuṇṭali, black flag.

As belonging to the fifth class of the Iṭaṅkai are mentioned—1, *Paḷḷar* with nelli garland and crab flag ; 2, *Cakkilikaḷ* (leather-workers) with saffron screen, black garland, warrior sword, cocoa leaf, drum, curved stick.

Mr. Coleman's decision refers also to the manner in which temple, funeral and other processions should be performed by the different castes, but to quote his remarks here would lead us too far away.

The Government Oriental Manuscripts' Library contains two lists of the right and left hand castes. 98 different divisions are ascribed to each sect. If the lists had not been very inaccurate, I should have printed them here, but they place *inter alias* the *Kammāḷar* on the right-hand and the Brahmans on the left-hand.

Dr. Macleane (in the Administration Manual, vol. I, p. 69), though without producing confirmatory evidence, makes the important statement that the *male Pullies* belong to the right and the *female Pullies* to the left hand. He says : "The following lists show the more important of the castes "which take part in the disputes of the rival hands. On the left hand, "Chetties, artisans, oilmongers, weavers, Patnavar, male leather-workers, and "female Pullies. On the right hand ; Vellaular, Cavarays, Comaties, account-"ants, silk-weavers, male Pullies, Pariahs and female leather-workers. "It is to be observed that the females of two of the inferior castes take differ-"ent sides from their husbands in these disputes." I have made inquiries among the Paḷḷis on this point and they deny the correctness of the statement, yet it is very difficult to decide such a question, unless both sides produce their authorities. It must certainly appear peculiar that husband and wife should belong to the different rival hands, as if it were desirable to specially provide causes for domestic disagreements. Mr. Nelson has, as will be seen on the next page, made a similar statement concerning the Cakkilis in Madura.

[60] The Rev. E. Löventhal of Vellore communicated to me the existence of the saying: பறையர் இடங்கை அல்ல அவர்கள் தமிழர் ; "The Pariyar are not left hand, they are Tamilians."

also the honorific title of *Valaṅkamattār* or *Valaṅkulattār* and claim in consequence precedence over the left-hand *Pallar*.

The Tamil Cakkili, the Telugu and Kanarese Mādiga, and the Marātha *Māng* all do belong to the same caste. Their occupation is mostly connected with leather and rope making. The enmity between the common Pariahs and these people is very acrimonious as it concerns precedence; and a *Māng*, who as ropemaker is generally also the hangman, is said to regard as his proudest and most meritorious action the hanging of a Mahār or Marātha Pariah. Nevertheless, the Pariahs and the Cakkilis, when not actually engaged in hostilities, acknowledge each other in a friendly manner as brothers-in-law. In his Madura Manual (II, p. 7) Mr. Nelson mentions the curious fact that in Madura the Cakkili women belong to the right-hand and their husbands to the left-hand.

The words *Māng and Mādiga* are corruptions of *Mātaṅga*.

The division of the *Śakti* worshippers or *Śāktas* in Dakṣiṇācāris and Vāmācāris has nothing in common with the right or left hand castes. This difference concerns merely the pūjā, inasmuch as the *dakṣiṇācāra*, the right observance, allows only milk, fruit, cakes made of blackgram, and other sweetmeats and sweet drinks, while the *vāmācāra*, the left or adverse observance, permits, besides the mentioned eatables and drinks, meat and liquors also.

The Valluvar.

The oppression which the Pariahs and Pallar have suffered has not drawn them closer together, but yet these two classes have their priesthood in common. These priests are called Valluvar, and their name has become renowned by *Tiru Valluva Nāyanār*, the author of the famous Tamil work the Kuṟaḷ (குறள்). It is evident from this appellation itself, that Tiruvalluva Nāyanār is not the real name of this

celebrated man, but only his title.[61] This poet, who was born and died at Mailapur, a suburb of Madras, showed in his writings a knowledge of, and a tendency towards Jainism; and though some deny the fact of his having been a Jain, other Vaḻḻuvar admit it: at all events the title Nāyanār may be taken in favor of such an assumption, as it is used by the Jains as an honorific appellation. The word means *lord* and *devotee*, and is probably a contracted form of the Tamil honorific term *Nāyakanār*, from which the syllable *ka* has been dropped. *Nāyaka*, a leader, especially a leader of troops, *i.e.*, a general, is derived from the Sanskrit *nī*, to lead. This word becomes in Tamil *Nāyakan* (Naik), in Telugu *Nāyaḍu* (Naiḍu), and in Malayālam *Nāyar* (Nair), and is used as a title by many Hindus in Southern India; it is adopted in the

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[61] The accounts given about *Tiruvaḻḻuva Nāyanār* are very obscure. One fact alone is clear that he belonged to one of the lowest classes of the population, but that the highest classes could not ignore his talents, and to save their superiority connected his birth with the Brahman caste. Another important item of information is that other celebrated Tamil poets as *Kapilar* and *Avvai* are also brought into intimate contact with the same lower classes. The legend given below makes Kapilar, Avvai and Tiruvaḻḻuva Nāyanār, brothers and sister, though it is manifest that they did not all live and compose their works at the same time; still the connection of all with one another and with the Pariahs and Pulayar is very peculiar indeed.

Brahma performed, according to the legend, a sacrifice for the explanation of the Sanskrit and Tamil languages and *Agastya* arose from it out of a pot. The sage married the daughter of the Ocean, and had from her a son *Peruñcārakan*. His son married at Tiruvālūr a Pulaiyan woman or *Pulaicci*, and their offspring was *Bhagavan* (பகவன்). About this time there lived *Tavamuni*, a scion of the Brahmavaṁśa, who had married a Brahman woman *Arulmaṅkai*. They had a daughter, but left her behind to perform a sacrifice at the Virali mountain. A Pariah of Uraiyūr found the girl, and brought her up, until there fell a downpour of earth which killed all the inhabitants in the neighbourhood except the girl, who took refuge in the house of one *Nītiyappan* at Melūrakaram. On his way to Benares the young Bhagavan stopped at the choultry near Melūrakaram, when the girl passed. He asked her whether she was a Pulaicci or Valaicci, and beat her with a wooden ladle on her head, so that it bled, and the wound left eventually a scar. On his return from Benares the pilgrim stopped at the same inn and again saw the young girl, who had since become very beautiful, at the house of Nītiyappan, but he did not recognise her and asked her foster-father to give him his

same meaning by the Bhillālas, Mahārs and Gonds. The word *Valluvan* வள்ளுவன், (*Pl.* Valluvar) I take to mean "the honorable Palla;" Vallu or rather Pallu being the collective name of the Palla caste and *an* (*ar*) the honorific pronominal affix. The present position of the Valluvar is highly interesting. He is famous for his superior attainments in Astrology, and is much consulted when horoscopes are to be cast. Though socially an outcaste, he is respectfully treated by Brahmans and especially by Brahman ladies, who often have recourse to his advice. He wears the holy brahmanical thread or *yajñōpavīta*, in Tamil *pūṇunūl* or *pūṇūl*.[62] At the weddings of Pariahs and Pallar he utters Sanskrit passages

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daughter in marriage. He consented and the marriage was celebrated when Bhagavan returned from Rāmēśvaram. On his anointing, according to the ceremonial, the head of his bride, he saw the scar on her head and recognised her as the girl he had beaten. Ashamed he ran away, but the girl—who was henceforth called Áti (ஆதி)—ran behind him. At Pāṇaccēri she overtook him at last, when Bhagavan exacted from her the promise that she would leave behind her all the children which they might have on their journeys. She consented and much against her inclination kept her word, advised by her babies to do so. Thus were born *Avvai* (அவ்வை) or Auvai (ஔவை) as an incarnation of Sarasvatī, *Uppai* (உப்பை) in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, *Atikamān* (அதிகமான்) in Karuvūr, *Uṟuvai* (உறுவை) in Kāvēripaṭṭanam, *Kapilar* (கபிலர்) in Tiruvārūr, *Valli* near the Vēli mountain and *Tiruvalluvar* in an oil nut tree tope at Mailapūr.

All these children play important parts in the legends and poetry of Southern India. *Avvai* was nursed by hunters. *Uppai* was brought up by washermen and married a Pariah grave-digger. They were very poor, and she was attacked by small-pox and went about covered only with margosa-tree leaves. Thus she became known and worshipped as Māriyamman. *Adikamān* was educated by Cōramān, *Uṟuvai* by brewers, *Kapilar* by the Brahman *Pāpaiya*, and *Valli* by Kuṟavar. The names of *Tiruvalluvar* and of most of his so-called brothers and sisters are no proper names.

[62] *See* Ñānaveṭṭi (ஞானவெட்டி) ascribed to Tiruvalluva Nāyanār edited by Aruṇācala Mudaly, p. 9, stanza 40, which begins (பூணுநூல் தரித்துக்கொள்வோம் சிவ சிவ (Pūṇunūl tarittukkolvōm, Śiva, Śiva) "Let us wear the sacred thread, Śiva, Śiva, let us follow the promptings of the five senses; let us carry all the insignia, especially the white umbrellas and white chowries, as well as the golden fans used by the gods and sages, beautiful marks and clothes. Let us praise by worshipping the beginning and ending of Ōm, in which lustre of wisdom and divine essence are manifest."

in the marriage ceremonial, the meaning of which he probably does not know. Considering how jealous the Brahman priests are of keeping secret their sacred verses, it is very strange indeed that the Vaḻḻuvar knows and uses some of them. This knowledge must have been acquired long ago, perhaps at a time when friendly relations still existed between the Brahman settlers and the original population.

He is most probably the representative of the ruling class of ancient times, and his name can still be easily discerned, as it is preserved in historical records and geographical accounts. I need only mention the *Vaḻḻuvakōn*, of Vaḻḻuvanāḍu, the king of the Vaḻḻuvar, who presided at the great assembly of Kēraḷam, when a new Perumāl was chosen every twelfth year to rule over the whole of Malayāḷam. I pointed out some years ago the connection which exists between the Vaḻḻuvar and Pallavas and shall recur to this question later on.

All this splendour of the Vaḻḻuvan has departed and he is now known only as the priest of the Pariahs and Paḻḻar. He occupies the highest position among the Pariahs, while his name connects him with the Paḻḻar, and among the kindred of the latter, *i.e.*, among the Pulayar of Cochin, the Vaḻḻuvar still rank highest. We may perhaps be justified in regarding him as representing a link between the first and second Dravidian stage.

This suggestion will naturally be repudiated by the Vaḻḻuvar, for they regard themselves as much superior to the people committed to their spiritual charge.

To accept the assertions of every individual Hindu would be to admit a separate creation for each tribe, sect, trade, profession, and calling. The pride of caste, even among the lowest in the country, the tendency towards exclusiveness, and the firm belief in individual superiority combined with a strong spirit of conservatism, divide the Indian population into innumerable sections. And as if the existing

distinctions did not suffice, new conditions and new complications are continually giving rise to new variations and combinations in Hindu society. Thus among the Veḻḻāḻar, such new castes have lately arisen, and, if I am not mistaken, some promoters of the widow-remarriage movement advocate the establishment of a new caste, composed of those who have married widows and of the offspring of such marriages.

CHAPTER V.

On the Pallar, Pallavas, Pulayar, Ballas (Bhallas), Bhīls, Pulindas, &c.

What was originally an accidental discrepancy in the pronunciation of the name of the Mallas or Pallas, though immaterial in itself, has produced occasionally in the course of time a real difference. It may perhaps be assumed, either that those who had descended from the mountains to the plains preferred to be called Pallas, because the Dravidian word *paḻḻam* signifies *depth* or *low country*, or that they imparted this meaning to the term *paḻḻam*, unless the vocal similarity between *Paḻḻan*, a Palla, and *paḻḻam*, low country, is regarded as an accidental freak of language.

In these circumstances one may be justified in distinguishing in certain localities, between the Mallas and Pallas as between Highlanders and Lowlanders, while we may find elsewhere Mallas living in the plains and Pallas on the mountains. After a prolonged residence of the descendants of the Highlanders in the plains and of the Lowlanders in the mountains, both might re-adjust their names to the actual places they are occupying, and call themselves, respectively, Maḻḻar and Paḻḻar.

The Pallas appear in Sanskrit literature as *Pallavas, Pahlavas, Pahnavas, Palhava* and *Plavas.*

The formation of the word *Pallava*[63] can be explained in different ways. It may have been derived from the word *Palla* which, being combined with the pronominal affix *an*, formed the honorific term *Paḻḻavan*, and eventually dropped the final *n*; or, if of Sanskrit origin, the affix *va* may either have been added to Palla, or the Taddhita affix *a* to the term Paḻḻu, which denotes the Paḻḻar caste as an aggregate. In the latter case *Pallava* would have been formed from *Pallu* and ought to have been *Pāllava*, but according to Pāṇini V, 2, 127 (*arśa ādibhyo'c*) Vṛddhi or long *a* is not necessary.

The omission of one *l* and the insertion in its place of an *h* requires a few remarks in order to connect *Palhava*, *Pahlava* and *Puhnava* with *Palla*, which was no doubt the original Dravidian form with which the Aryans became first acquainted.

Before a language reaches the literary stage, dialectical differences excepted, only one form of speech does generally prevail, which is the language in common use, the popular or *Prākrit* idiom. In course of time, with the growth of literature, the language, or rather the literary speech, becomes more and more settled and stationary, and certain formations, owing to their having been preferred by poets and other authors, are widely adopted and supersede those previously used. The refined or *Sanskrit* language must have originated in some such manner. Its very existence presupposes the *Prākrit*, as the original Prākrit must be older than the later *Sanskrit*. The so-called Prākrit forms, which are found, *e.g.*, in the Vedic literature, should not for this reason be regarded as belonging to a later period, simply because they belong to Prākrit, as they may even represent

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[63] The *Jātisaṅgrahasāra* on p. 171 says that *Pallavan* is derived from *Puravalan*, one who has got the strength of body, that *pura* was dropped in course of time, *V* changed into *P*, and *van* added.

the older Prākrit phase.[64] While Prākrit is indefinite, Sanskrit is definite and becomes in consequence ossified and unchangeable. Eventually it loses its hold on the people, but remains the linguistic standard of the educated and the dialect of the learned. It supplies in its turn the material for a modern Prākrit, which may likewise contain some relics of the original Prākrit, but from which, as prior to Sanskrit, it must be distinguished.

Applying these remarks to the special subject before us, it is not at all impossible that, as the Gaudian *Kaṇḍa* has been changed in Sanskrit into *Khaṇḍa*, similarly the original Dravidian and ancient Prākrit word *Palla* has been already at an early date altered and become *Palha* and *Pahla*, which three different terms were then in use at one and the same time. Sanskrit prefers on the whole a form whose pronunciation is more difficult than what satisfies the Dravidian languages. Some of these changes may have been made for reasons of which we are now ignorant. In support of my supposition that *Palha* or *Pahla* is a modification of *Palla*, I contend that a similar connection does apparently exist between the names *Kalhaṇa* or *Kahlaṇa* and *Kalla*; between *Balhaṇa*, *Balhi*, *Balhika*, *Balhīka*, *Bālhi*, &c., or *Bahlaṇa*, *Bahli*, *Bahlikā*, *Bahlīka*, *Bāhli*, &c., and *Balla*; between *Bilhaṇa* (*Vilhaṇa*) or *Bihlaṇa* (*Vihlaṇa*) and *Billa*, (*Villa*); between *Malhaṇa* or *Mahlaṇa* and *Malla*; between *Śilhana* or *Śihlana* and *Śilla*; and between *Sulhaṇa*, *Suhlaṇa* or *Sullaṇa* and an original *Sulla*. The names ending in *ṇ* like Balhaṇa, Kalhaṇa, Malhaṇa and Sulhaṇa have some resemblance with those Dravidian names ending in *aṇṇa*, as Rāghaṇṇa, Nāgaṇṇa, &c. Of the change of double *l* into *lh*, the change of *Mallāri* into *Malhāri* in Marāṭhi affords an example.

[64] For instance compare *kṛikalāsa* with *kṛikadāśu*, *puroḍāśa* with *purolāśa*, *kṣullaka* with kṣudraka and *bhallākṣa* with *bhadrākṣa*, in Professor A. Weber's *Indische Studien*, II, p. 87, note.

The introduction of an *h* into words in which it originally found no place has already been commented upon when discussing on p. 61 the origin of the names *Mhār* and *Bhār* from Mār and *Bār*.

The practical result of this inquiry is the establishment of the Indian equivalents Pahlava, Palhava and Plava for Pallava and Palla, and the conclusion that the names of such peoples, where they occur in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, and other ancient Sanskrit works, refer, in most cases, to Indian tribes and not to nations beyond the frontiers of India, *e.g.*, to the Persian *Pahlavas*. This assumption does not dispute the fact that relationship existed between Non-Aryan races dwelling on both sides of the Indian frontier.

The Paḻḻar, as well as the Paḻḻis, claim to be connected with the Pallavas. The Pallavarājas were in early times already rulers in this country. Some rājas, *e.g.*, those of the Śambhugōtra in the North near Rājamandry still affect the title of Pallavarāja and worship at their marriages the fire and the *vahni*-tree, a twig of which, as we have mentioned above, is used as an arrow at the hunting festival (*Pārivēṭṭai*) on the Vijayadaśamī during the Navarātri or Dasara feast.[65]

In accordance with the interchange between *v* and *m* which has been previously pointed out, the word *Pallava* can be easily recognized in the more modern *Vellama*, *Vellamba*, *Bhillama*, *Yellama* and *Ellama*. The connection between Valluva and Pallava has already been mentioned.

The majority of the Paḻḻar now-a-days occupy the plains, but they have even there retained their innate predilection for the woods and mountains. Wherever possible, they erect their shrines in forests and on hills, and their marriages also take place in such localities. A pandal or wooden shed is there constructed to celebrate them. Before the marriage

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[65] Read *The Pallavas* by the learned Rev. Thomas Foulkes, and see p. 81.

is actually performed, the bridegroom suddenly leaves his house and starts for some distant place, as if he has suddenly abandoned his intention of marrying, in spite of the preparations that have been made for the wedding. His intended father-in-law intercepts the young man on his way and persuades him to return, promising to give him his daughter as a wife; to this the bridegroom consents.[66] The marriage ceremony is then proceeded with: the Val̤l̤uva priest shows the *Tāli* or marriage necklace to the assembled guests, pronounces the necessary prayers and mantrams, and hands the *Tāli* to the bridegroom, who ties it round the neck of his bride. It is highly probable that the Pal̤l̤ar adopted a part of their marriage rites, especially those resembling the Kāśiyātrā, from the Brahmans. The marriage of the Pal̤l̤ar can be dissolved on either side; the husband divorces his wife by breaking the *Tāli*, and the woman can remarry. Should a wife run away from her husband, she can only remarry with the consent of a pañcāyat. A widow can remarry. The dead are either burnt or buried: burying is cheaper and, therefore, more common among the poorer of the lower classes.

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[66] This custom resembles strangely the so-called *Kāśiyātrā* among the Brahmans and high-caste Hindus. Pretending to go on a pilgrimage to *Kāśī* (Benares), the bridegroom leaves his house with a wooden stick in his right hand, a kadjan (palm-leaf) book under his left arm, on his left shoulder he carries an umbrella, to which is tied a bundle of clothes, containing also some doll and other necessaries for the journey; his feet are encased in a pair of *pādarakṣa* or hard leather shoes, and on his head he wears a pugri. While on the road, he is overtaken by the father and mother of his bride, who carry respectively two cocoanuts and two vessels filled with water. The intended mother-in-law pours the water over the feet of the youth, while her husband washes them and then gives him the two cocoanuts. Both entreat him not to proceed to Benares, but to return and marry their daughter, to which proposals he eventually listens, and the wedding is celebrated as pre-arranged. The origin of this custom may be that, though every Brahman should visit Benares in order to study there, the young man cannot do so if he becomes a *gṛhastha* or family man. He saves, therefore, his conscience by simulating an immediate departure to Kāśī and manifesting thus his good intentions, which, though not carried out, will be credited to him as if he had actually performed the pilgrimage.

Maḻḻan, *Kulantān*, and *Murukan* are common names among Paḻḻa men, while *Vaḻḻi*, *Tēvānai* (for Dēvayāna corruption of Dēvasēnā) and *Kulantai* (Kulumai) are applied to their womên.[67]

The Paḻḻar are an industrious, hardworking, and hard-worked class of land labourers, found mostly in the Madras Presidency, and especially in the southern districts. They toil unintermittingly to enrich their masters, the actual owners of the soil, and they were, until very lately, not much better treated than bondslaves. The time is not remote when the owners of the ground even regarded them as their property, as Helots belonging to the land. Continual bad treatment and exposure to all kinds of hardship have been their sad lot, and it is only natural that this condition should have eventually told on their mental and physical development, but it speaks, on the other hand, much for the superiority of their original nature that, in spite of all the miseries endured, they have been able to retrieve their position under a kinder government and are now starting again with fair prospects of improvement.

The *Pulayar* of Travancore, Cochin, and Malabar correspond to the Paḻḻar in the Tamil country, the Paḻḻar settlers in these countries being often called Pulayar. Their fate resembles that of the Paḻḻar. Constant exposure to the heat of a scorching sun, to the unceasing downpours of rain during the monsoon, and to the violent gales and thunderstorms so prevalent on the West Coast of India, combined with insufficient and unsubstantial nourishment, has undermined and stunted their physique, and their skin has in the course of generations assumed a colour approaching black as nearly as possible. Unfavorable local circumstances have made the position of the Pulayar even worse than that of

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[67] Murukan and Murukêśan are also names of Subrahmaṇya. See note 16 on p. 44.

the most oppressed races in the Tamil country. The Pariahs or Pallar, who despaired of their sad lot, had at least a chance of improving it by running away from their oppressors without being caught again; but even this prospect was denied to the unfortunate Pulayan. Hemmed in on all sides by mountains, woods, backwaters, swamps, and the sea he could not hope to escape and to better his position; even if he evaded recapture, he had to face death in another cruel form in the wilderness in which he found himself entangled, and out of which he could not extricate himself.

Like the Pallan, the Pulayan, when well treated, has shown himself to be possessed of creditable mental and physical powers. In the census report of Travancore it is said of them that " they are an extremely useful and hard-working race, and are sometimes distinguished by a rare character for truth and honor, which their superiors in the caste scale might well emulate."

The degree of contempt with which the Pulayan is treated is evident from the disgraceful etymological derivation of his name from *Pula*, pollution, as has been already mentioned. Like every other Hindu, the Pulayan takes a pride in his caste and despises, in his turn, all those whom he regards as beneath him. As has also been remarked, the highest class among the Pariahs and the Pulayar is that of the Valluvar, who are moreover the priests of the Pariahs and Pallar. This seems to be another proof of the identical origin of the Pallan and Pulayan.

The chief deities of the Pulayan are *Mādan* and the *Fire Pāṇḍavas.*

As a Pariah found at Mēlkōṭa the image of Celvapillai, as a Śavara was originally in possession of the sacred stone of Jagannātha, so also is the worship of Padmanābha in Trivandrum intimately connected with a Pulayan. Once a *Pulacci* or Pulaya woman, who was living with her husband in the Anantakāḍu jungle, suddenly heard the cry of a baby.

She rushed to the spot and saw, to her surprise, a beautiful child lying on the ground, protected by a cobra. She had compassion on it, and nursed it like her own child. The appearance of a cobra intimated to her the divine origin of the infant. This belief proved true, for the child was an incarnation of Viṣṇu. As soon as the Rāja of Travancore heard of this wonderful event, he built a shrine on the spot where the baby had been found, and dedicated it to Padmanābha. This is the origin of the Padmanābha temple at Trivandrum. The Pulayar round Trivandrum assert to this day that in former times a Pulaya king ruled and had his castle not far from the present capital of Travancore.[68]

This constant connection of individuals belonging to the lowest population with the worship of the Hindu gods is indeed a very peculiar and significant circumstance.

While the Paḻḻar on the East Coast and the Pulayar on the Malabar Coast are mostly agricultural labourers, the *Pulaiyar* and the *Paḻḻiyar* (*Paḻḻiar*) in Madura are on the other hand mountaineers. The former are regarded as the aboriginal inhabitants of the Paḻani Hills, and have been the bondslaves of the Kunnuvar. The Paḻḻiyar dwell on the hills also in Madura and the adjacent districts, avoiding as much as possible any intercourse with strangers.

Related to the Pallas by kinship, and bearing also a similar name, are the *Balla* (Bāla, *Valla*, Vella) and *Bhālla* (*Bhilla* or *Bhīl*).

It is now impossible to decide or explain when and why the original name *Palla* became thus diversified; but after these dialectical variations had once come into use, it was advisable to retain rather than to drop them.

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[68] The god *Padmanābha* rests with his head at *Tiruvallam* and with his feet at *Tirupālapur* or Tirupādapur. The chief Nambūri priest of Travancore comes from Cochin and is called *Aḻuvañcēri Tamburakaḻ*. See also Rev. Mateer's *Land of Charity*, p. 161, and *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 34.

The Ballas.

The tribe which bears this name has become famous throughout India at different times and in different places. We meet the *Ballas* in the North as well as in the South, but their fame is especially connected with those countries which form now-a-days the north-western part of the Bombay Presidency, including its dependencies. Their ancient capital was the renowned *Balabhīpura* in Kāṭhiawār. Enormous ruins, spread over fifteen miles, are evidence of its splendour before its destruction in the eighth century. *Walla* lies now near the site of Balabhīpura. The kings of the Ballas are known as Balla Rājas (Balla-Raos), Balharas and Ballālas. The power and splendour of the Balharas excited the admiration of mediæval Arabian travellers who visited the Indian shores.

Some *Ballas* claim to belong to the *Sūryavaṁśa* or sun-line and trace their descent from Lava's son *Balla*. The bards praise them as *Tatta-Multan-ka-Rao*, the Lords of Tatta and Multan. They called the territory which they conquered *Ballakṣētra* with *Balabhīpur* as its chief town. The Ballas of Surat derive their origin from *Candra* or the moon and connect their pedigree with the Balikaputras, the ancient lords of Aror on the Indus. The present Ballas and the Kāṭhis, like their ancestors, still worship the sun, which is the presiding deity of Multan, a circumstance that intimates a Scythian and Non-Aryan origin. The Ballas are probably identical with the *Mallas* whom we have mentioned above. The Kāṭhi of Kāṭhiawār, who as Kathæi fought against the great Macedonian, claim to be descended from the Ballas.

The name of the Balla Rājas reappears in a different form at a later period in Mysore as the well-known Ballālas.

Many places, all over India, still preserve the name of the Ballas. I reserve this subject for a later chapter, but mention here only such places as *Belgaum* or Baliagrāma,

Ballasamudram, Ballapallem, Ballapur, Māblēśvar (Mahaballēśvara), &c.[69]

The Bhīls.

The Bhīls are probably aborigines of Mārwār. They live scattered over a great tract of country; they dwell so far north as the Aravalli Hills, and they are found in the

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[69] See Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. I, pp. 112, 113: "All the genealogists, ancient and modern, insert the Balla tribe among the Raj-culas. The *byrd*, or blessing, of the bārd is *Tatta Mooltan ca rao* (Princes of Tatta and Mooltan), indicative of their original abodes on the Indus. They lay claim, however, to descent from the Sooryavansi, and maintain that their great ancestor, Balla or Bappa, was the offspring of Lava, the eldest son of Ram; that their first settlement in Saurashtra was at the ancient Dhank, in more remote periods called Mongy Pottun; and that, in conquering the country adjacent, they termed it Ballakhetr (their capital Balabhipoora), and assumed the title of Ballah-rae. Here they claim identity with the Ghelote race of Mēwar: nor is it impossible that they may be a branch of this family, which long held power in Saurashtra. Before the Ghelotes adopted the worship of Mahadeo, which period is indicated in their annals, the chief object of their adoration was the sun, giving them that *Scythic* resemblance to which the Ballas have every appearance of claim. The Ballas on the continent of Saurashtra on the contrary, assert their origin to be Induvansa, and that they are the Balica-pootras, who were the ancient lords of Arore on the Indus . . . The Cattis claim descent from the Ballas; an additional proof of northern origin, and strengthening their right to the epithet of the bards 'Lords of Moolthan and Tatta.' The Ballas were of sufficient consequence in the thirteenth century to make incursions on Mēwar, and the first exploit of the celebrated Rana Hamir was his killing the Balla chieftain of Choteela. The present chief of Dhank is a Balla, and the tribe yet preserves importance in the peninsula."

Read also *ibidem*, pp. 216–219. "A work written to commemorate the "reign of Rama Raj Sing opens with these words: 'In the west is Sooratdēs, "a country well known: the *barbarians* invaded it, and conquered *Bhal-"ca-naṭh;* all fell in the sack of Balabhipoora, except the daughter of the "Pramara.' And the Sanderai roll thus commences: When the city of "Balabhi was sacked, the inhabitants fled and founded Balli, Sanderai, and "Nadole in Mordur dēs. These are towns yet of consequence . . . The "tract about Balabhipoora and northward is termed *Bhal*, probably from "the tribe of *Balla*. . The sun was the deity of this northern tribe . . . "The solar orb and its type, fire, were the chief objects of adoration of "Silladitya of Balabhipoora." The Balarājas are also mentioned in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tod's *Travels in Western India*, London, 1839, pp. 147–149, contain the same information as above, to this is added the following: "The Balla pays adoration exclusively to the sun, and it is only in

deserts of Sind and Rājputāna as well as in the woody and inaccessible gorges of Kandesh and Ahmedabad.

The name of the Bhīls occurs in various Sanskrit works, and also in Ptolemy, VII, 1, 66. He makes mention of the *Phyllītai* together with the *Bettigoi* and *Kandaloi.*

Instead of connecting the *Phyllītai* with the Bhīls, as Lassen first rightly proposed to do, Sir A. Cunningham prefers to derive the term *Phyllītai* from the Greek word

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"Saurashtra that temples to this orb abound; so that religion, tradition as "regards their descent, and personal appearance, all indicate an Indo-scy- "thic origin for this race, and in order to conceal their barbarian (*mletcha*) "extraction, the fable of their birth from Rama may have been devised. "The city of Balabhi, written *Wulleh* in the maps, and now an inconsider- "able village, was said to be twelve coss, or fifteen miles, in circumference. "From its foundations, gigantic bricks, from one and-a-half to two feet in "length, are still dug; but of this hereafter. Enough has been said to "trace the origin of the Balhara of the Arabian travellers, the Baleokouras "of Ptolemy; for, even in the second century, it had claims to the attention "of the royal geographer of Egypt." See *ibidem*, pp. 156, 159–169, where Colonel Tod discusses the Arabic accounts of the *Balhara* princes of India. On page 160 he says: "We may remark upon this description, first, of the "title *Balhara*, that it was derived from *Ballā-cā-Raē*, whose ancient capital "was Balabhipoor, on whose site Ptolemy has placed a Byzantium." I also derive *Balhara* from *Balla Rāja*, the word *Balla* having undergone the change, which I have explained on pp. 99 and 100. Though Colonel Tod gives above the right explanation, he called these rulers on p. 145 "Balhara, or more correctly Balha-raes, exalted kings." The Arabic travellers, especially *Ibn Khurdadba* and *Al Idrisi*, styled these monarchs and interpreted their name *Balhara* as meaning king of kings, and the late Mr. Edward Thomas, of numismatic reputation, explained it to signify *Bara Rai*, great king or lord paramount of the time being. Compare about this subject "The History of India," edited from the posthumous papers of Sir H. M. Elliot by Professor John Dowson, vol. I, pp. 3-5, 9, 13, 21, 24, 86, 87, 201 and 354–358, which latter passage contains a great deal of information on this subject. The *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine*, par M. Reinaud; Paris, 1845, should be also consulted.

Colonel Tod devotes a special chapter to *Balabhi* in his *Travels in Western India*, pp. 268–271. "The name of this is now Balli, or Wulleh . . Some interesting additions . . amply confirmed all I had recorded of it (Balabhi) from tho Yutis of Balli and Sandera in Marwar, the descendants of those who were expelled on its sack in S. 300 (A.D. 214)" . . Still, both books and tradition connect the tribo of Balla with the ancient sovereigns of Balabhi . . The lord of Balla-khetra would, of course, be Bal-ca-rae, which doubtless originated the epithet, so often noticed, of the Balhara princes . . . Not far from Balabhi, there is a spot still sacred to the pilgrim,

φύλλον, leaf, and to assign to it the meaning of *leaf-clad*. This expression, according to Sir Alexander, appropriately describes the Gonds, though *parṇa*, leaf, is used only in connection with the Śabaras, as he himself admits when referring to them. There is no objection to his explaining *parṇa* by "leaf-clad," though it can also signify "leaf-eating." In fact I prefer to a certain extent the former interpretation of *parṇa*. But as the *Phyllītai* are mentioned by Ptolemy as a

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and connected with the grand national epic, the *Mahabharat*, called Bheemnath, where there is a fountain, whose waters, in past days, were of miraculous efficacy, and on whose margin is a temple to Siva, which attracts votaries from all quarters. The origin of this spot is referred to the adventures of the Pandua brothers, and their wanderings in exile amongst the forests of Berat, which tradition places in this very region, and its capital, Beratgurh, is held to be the more modern, but still interesting Dholka, included in Balla-khetra, and affording fresh and almost superabundant testimony to the veracity of the ancient chronicles of Mēwar, which state Balabhi, Beratgurh, and Gurh-Gajni to have been the three chief cities, which owned their sway on their expulsion from the "land of the Sauras." The era of Balabhī, which is identical with the Gupta era, begins, according to the correct statement of Albīrūnī, in A.D. $3\frac{1}{2}\frac{9}{0}$. The Balabhī grants are dated between the years 207 and 447 of the Gupta era. (See Colonel Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. I, 801, and *Travels in Western India*, p. 213, and in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. XI, pp. 241, 305—9 ; XV., pp. 189, 273, 335 ; XVI, p. 147 ; the researches of Dr. Hultzsch, Prof. Bühler, and Mr. Fleet). Balabhī was visited by Hiven Tsiang about 640 A.D. "On its destruction, in the middle of the eighth century, Anhulwarra became the metropolis, and this, as recorded, endured until the fourteenth, when the title of Bal-ca-rae became extinct." (Tod's *Travels in Western India*, p. 214.)

Ptolemy mentions, VII, 1. 83 'Ιππόκουρα, βασίλειον Βαλεόκούρου,' for which Willberg in his edition of Ptolemy substitutes βαλερκούρου. This is the passage to which Colonel Tod has referred above in his *Travels* on p. 149, and which is mentioned also in his *Annals*, vol. I, p. 213. Chr. Lassen speaks in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. III, pp. 179, 185, and 186 of this passage, and places this Hippokura in the south : "Die Stadt muss in der Nähe des "jetzigen Mulkher gelegen haben . . Nur so viel lässt sich, ohne Besorgniss zu "irren, behaupten, dass dem *Siripolemios* die nördlichern, dem Baleokuros "die südlichern Gebiete unterworfen waren." I conjecture that the word *Balla* is contained in Baleokūrū as well as in Balerkūrū, and if the latter is accepted as a reading, the *r* must indicate the title of Rāja or Rao.

About Balabhī consult "Notes on the Ancient City of Balabhipura," by Mr. B. A. R. Nicholson, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XIII, pp. 146–163. Read also the articles on this subject by the above mentioned scholars, and those of the late Mr. J. Fergusson, and Professor R. Gopal Bhandarkar, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. I, III, IV, V, VI, VII, IX, XI,

separate tribe distinguished from the *Kandaloi*, both cannot be merged into one, nor can *Phyllītai* be taken as a Greek word, for Ptolemy does not use Greek expressions instead of, or among other, Indian proper names without tendering an explanation for such an unusual proceeding. *Phyllītai*, moreover, does not occur in Greek in the sense suggested by Sir A. Cunningham.

The passage in Ptolemy has no connection whatever with the Śabaras.[70]

XII, XIV, XV and XVI. Professor Bühler especially has by his publication and translation of a considerable number of Balabhī grants considerably contributed to the elucidation of this hitherto dark passage in Indian history.

Compare also Sir Alexander Cunningham's remarks in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. II, pp. 33–35: "We know also that both the Bālas and the Kāthi of the present day pay special adoration to the sun, which was the chief deity of Multān, from the earliest times down to the reign of Aurangzib, by whose orders the idol is said to have been destroyed. It seems probable therefore that the *Bālas* may be the same tribe as the *Malli* or *Malii* of Alexander's historians, as the interchange of the letters *b* and *m*, which is of frequent occurrence in most languages, was very common in the Macedonian dialect." Compare about *Multan*, vol. V, pp. 114–136 of the *Archæological Survey of India*; and about the golden statue of the Sun, H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 11, 23, 27, 35, 82, 205 and 469.

The remark about the Macedonian dialect is misleading, as the Greek historians mention the Malloi, and as the change of *m* into *b* is in this instance of Indian origin.

[70] The *Parāśarapaddhati* mentions the Bhīls, Pulindas, Pullas, Mallas and others in the following lines:

> Pulinda-Mēda-Bhillāśca Pullō Mallaśca Dhāvakaḥ,
> Kundakārō Ḍōkhalō vā Mṛtapō Hastipas tathā;
> Ētē vai Tīvarājjātāḥ kanyāyām Brāhmaṇasya ca.

See Ptolemy, VII, 1, 66; "Περὶ δὲ τὸν Ναναγοῦναν Φυλλῖται καὶ Βηττιγοί, ἐν οἷς Κάνδαλοι μὲν παρὰ τοὺς Φυλλίτας καὶ τὸν ποταμόν." See Sir A. Cunningham in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 151: "In his "(Ptolemy's) day the large district at the head of the *Nanaguna*, or Tapti "River, was occupied by the *Kondali* or *Gondali*, a name which has been "generally identified with that of the Gonds. But their country is described "as *pars Phullitarum*, the *Phullitae* themselves being placed more to the "north. I take this name to be a pure Greek one, φυλλειταί, descriptive "of the 'leaf-clad' aborigines. Varāha Mihira notices the *Parna-Śabaras*, "or 'leaf-clad Sauras'; and we know that the Juangs of the present day "still preserve this primitive costume. I believe, therefore, that there may "have been *Parna Gauḍas*, or 'leaf-clad Gonds,' in the time of Ptolemy, "and that these are the people intended by his Phullitae-Gondali."

The Mārs of Ajmere resemble the Bhīls, and these again are not dissimilar to the Parheyas and Khonds. The Bhīls

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This opinion does not appear to coincide with that expressed by Sir A. Cunningham in vol. XXI, p. 93: "Still further to the south Ptolemy places "the *Phullitae* and the *Kondali*, whose country is described as *Pars Phulli-* "*tarum*. Phullitae I take to be a Greek name descriptive of the *Parna* "*Savaras*, or 'leaf-clad Savaras,' one of the most powerful of the aboriginal "races in the early centuries of the Christian era. Their only town was "*Agara*, which may perhaps be identified with Sāgar." In H.T.Colebrooke's edition of *Amarakōśa*, Serampore, 1825, p. 252, note j, we read: *śavaraḥ* or *patraśavaraḥ*, wearing feathers (a peacock's tail, &c.). A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps' French edition contains on p. 233 the same remark. In Böthlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, vol. IV, p. 417, stands *patraśavara*, "ein mit Federn sich schmückender Śavara." *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV, 10, mentions the *Purikadaśārṇāḥ* with *saha nagnaparṇaśabaraiḥ;* and Böthlingk calls *ibidem*, p. 574 the *Parṇaśavara*, von Blättern lebende Śavara, *i.e.*, Śavaras, who live on leaves; the term occurs also in Mārkandēya Purāṇa. Some take Parṇa as the name of a people; *e.g.*, Mr. N. Chidambaram Iyer, who translates this passage: *Nagna, Parna and Sabara*. It is possible that in this place three different tribes are enumerated, the *Nagna* (naked), the *Parṇa* and the Śabara: for if two tribes, the *Nagna-śabara* and *Parṇa-śabara*, *i.e.*, the "naked Śabara" and the "leaf-Śabara," are only mentioned, in order to prevent any doubt on this subject, any other mode of expression would have been preferable to the use of the compound in the Instrumental Plural, *i.e.*, to *nagnaparṇaśabaraiḥ*. I ought also not omit to mention that the *Śabarāḥ* occur ten times in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, but only once in the quoted place in connection with either *nagna* or *parṇa*. To these remarks I join General Sir A. Cunningham's comments as contained in his 17th vol. pp. 127, 128: "I think it probable that Colebrooke's reading of *Patra Śavaras* is "erroneous, as Varāha Mihira gives the name of *Parṇa Śavara*, or leaf-clad "Śavaras. Varāha places in the south-east quarter, in the territory of the "aborigines, the Purikas, the Dasāmas, the "*naked Śabaras*, and the *Parṇa* "*Śabaras*," and in the south the *Sauris* and *Kirṇas*. The commentator, "however, takes these two names as one, or *Sauri-Kirṇas*, who are probably "the people of Hwen Tsang's *Kirna-Suvarna*. Professor Kern thinks that "the Parṇa Śavaras are 'manifestly the Phyllitae of Ptolemy,' and he ex- "plains the name as 'feeding upon leaves.' But, as we know that the Juāngs, "a cognate race, still wear leaves, it seems to me more probable that the "term means 'leaf-clad.' In other places Varāha speaks of the '*Śavara* "savages,' (IX, 15), the 'savage Śabaras and Pulindas' (IX, 29), and "of various tribes of *Śabara* savages (XXXII, 15). This last notice must "refer to more than the two tribes of *Nagna* Śabaras, or 'Naked Śavaras, "and *Parna Śavaras*, or 'Leaf-clad.' Both Amara and Varāha date about "A.D. 550."

To my previous remarks, I only add that the term φυλλῖται, as used by Ptolemy, cannot apply to the Śabaras, who are mentioned by him VII, 1, 80 near the Ganges; that a word φυλλειταί does, I believe, not occur in Greek, hough φυλλίτης (*m*) and φυλλῖτις (*f*) are used in the sense of φύλλινος, made of leaves; that the *Phyllitae* are distinguished by Ptolemy from the *Kandaloi*

being mostly mountaineers, are called in Kanarese *Koracaru* or *Kuruciyar*, and a Bhīl woman or *Koravañji* is known in Sanskrit as *Bhillā strī* or *Pārvatēyī*.[71] Koravañji is also the name of a girl whom Arjuna is said to have married when he stayed in the *Raivaṭaka* forest.[72]

Cairns, cromlechs and stone platforms testify on the tops of hills to the presence of the Bhīls. Clay horses are, as in Southern India, dedicated to the gods. If images of horses are deposited near or on the tops of hills, the souls of the dead are supposed to shorten their journey to heaven by using them.

Though of a wild and unmanageable disposition and much addicted to thieving, the Bhīls can, when they have once been won by kind and just treatment, be easily turned into useful and trustworthy servants, soldiers, and land labourers. Some of their villages show superior cultivation. In Nimār and elsewhere they fill the post of hereditary

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and that both cannot be regarded as one nation "*Phyllitae-Gondali*" (IX, p. 151) or as "*leaf-clad Savaras*" (XXI, p. 93); that the country of the *Kondali* is nowhere described as *Pars Phullitarum*; and that the Śabaras are in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, IX, 15, 29, and XXXII, 15, not respectively described as "*Śavara* savages," "savage Sabaras and Pulindas," and of "various tribes of Śabara savages," for we find there in the text *ārikāñchabaraśūdrān* (IX, 15), *śabarapulindapradhvaṁsakaro* (IX, 29) and *Taṅgaṇa-Kaliṅga-Vaṅga-Draviḍāḥ Śabarāśca naikavidhāḥ*, the Śabaras mentioned, but nowhere as Śabara savages. The *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* mentions the different dialects, by whom they should be spoken, and indicates that the language of the Abhīras and Śabaras should be used by those who gain their living by wood and leaves; *i.e.*, most probably by wood-cutting and leaf-gathering (Ábhīrī Śāvarī cāpi kāṣṭhapatrōpajīviṣu). We meet here the Śabaras in connection with *patra*.

Bishop Caldwell advocates in his *Comparative Grammar* the derivation of *Bhīl* from bil, arrow, as he says on p. 464: "*Bhillas*, probably *Billas*, from the Dravidian *vil*, *bil*, a bow, bowmen." The Bettigoi are also called Bittoi, Bittioi, and Bittigoi. Compare Lassen, vol. I, p. 113 (88), and Sherring, vol. II, p. 128-9, 284, 291–300, 326; III, 81–84.

[71] See Dalton, pp. 264, 284, 430 and 439. Compare also "An Account of the Maiwār Bhils," by Mr. T. H. Hendley, *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XLIV, pp. 347–388.

[72] The marriage is mentioned in a Kanarese ballad. A commentary of the Bhāratacampū goes also b the name of *Koravarāmīyam*.

watchmen, as the Mhārs and Holeyas do in other parts of India.

The chiefs of the Bhīls are known as *Bhillālas.* Some Bhīl chiefs have assumed the title of *Nāyak* or Naick, as the Pallis and Mahārs have done. The founder of the Yâdava Dynasty of *Dēvagiri* bore the name of *Bhillama,* which word I have previously explained. This Bhillama is also called Bhillamanṛpa, and Balanṛpa, and Bellam.

Colonel Tod names *Bulla* as the progenitor of the Bhīls.[73]

The Pulindas.

Not only in their name but also in their habits and customs do the Pallar, Pulayar and their kindred tribes

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[73] See Mr. T. H. Hendley's *Account of the Maiwār Bhils,* vol. 44, p. 347, ff. : "In the hilly tracts, the erection of cairns, usually on hill tops; the adoption of Shiva and his consort as symbols of the powers of terror and darkness; the construction of stone platforms on which stand blocks smeared with red paint; the sacrifice of animals and tradition of human oblations; the use of effigies of the horse are apparently relics of their ancient faith. Piles of loose stones, . . or mere platforms, are erected on the summits of high hills, . . on these are arranged a large number of stone or burnt clay images of the horse. I have seen a hollow cairn on the verge of a steep crag near Khairwāṛā, four feet in diameter and as many deep, filled with these images, each of which was about four inches in length . . The common explanation of the construction of cairns and horses is as follows :—Heaven is supposed to be but a short distance from earth, but the souls of the dead have to reach it by a very painful and weary journey, which can be avoided to some extent during life by ascending high hills, and there depositing images of the horse—which in addition to reminding the gods of the work already accomplished, serve as chargers upon which the soul may ride a stage to bliss. . . The Bhīl is an excellent wood-man, knows the shortest cuts over the hills; can walk the roughest paths and climb the steepest crags without slipping or feeling distressed. . . Though robbers, and timorous, owing to ages of ill-treatment, the men are brave when trusted, and very faithful; they have been looked upon by the Rājpūts as wild beasts to be hunted down as vermin, and are now only beginning to feel themselves men. . History proves them always to have been faithful to their nominal Rājpūt sovereigns, especially in their adversity. The Bhīl is a merry soul loving a jest." About the Bhīls read the account of Mr. W. I. Sinclair in the *Indian Antiquary,* vol. IV, pp. 336–338.

Colonel Tod mentions *Bulla* on the first table of his *Annals.* In the IV Appendix to the same volume on p. 802 *Pulinda-Dēvī* is explained as the goddess of the Bhīl tribe.

With respect to the Naick title in use among the Bhīls, see Dr. Wilson's

resemble the ancient *Pulindas,* who lived in olden times in various districts all over India.

In the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa the Pulindas, together with the Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras,[74] and Mūtibas, are declared to be the offspring of the cursed elder sons of Viśvāmitra, while, according to another tradition, they were descended from the dark-skinned, flat-nosed, and dwarfish Niṣāda, who had been produced by rubbing the thigh of the corpse of the impious king Vēna. The Pulindas are frequently mentioned in the classical language of India as well as in those of Europe. The Rāmāyaṇa fixes their abode in different parts of Northern and Southern India. They are found on the banks of the Indus, and even in Ceylon;[75] in Central India they occupied extensive tracts and dwelt among the Bhīls, Śabaras, and Gonds in such a manner that the one are often mistaken for the other. The Mahābhārata, Viṣṇu-, Bhāgavata-, Padma-, and other Purāṇas, the Bṛhatsaṁhitā and various works contain repeated allusions to them, and Ptolemy introduces them by the name of *Pulīndai agriophagoi,*[76] or

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Indian Caste, vol. I, p. 99: "The word *Nāk,* the contraction of *Nāyak,* is the common epithet (of respect) used by the lowly Mahārs of the Marātha country. From the abundance of *Nāks* connected with the Bhills of the Bāriā jungles, east of Baroda, they are called *Nākaḍas.*" Compare also Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes,* vol. II, p. 299: "The territories of Baria and Chota Oodepoor, in Rewa Kanta, were infested by a class of Bheels, known as Naikras, of peculiarly savage and predatory habits." Consult also *Indian Antiquary,* vol. III, p. 208, on Nākara; Nāyak; Nayko.

[74] I quote here the derivation of the word *Śabara* proposed by General Sir Alex. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India,* vol. XVII, p. 113: "The origin of the name of *Savara* must be sought for outside the "language of the Aryas. In Sanskrit *Savara* simply means a 'corpse.' "From Herodotus, however, we learn that the Scythian word for an 'axe' "was *Sagaris*; and as *g* and *v* are interchangeable letters, *Savar* is the same "word as *Sagar.* It seems, therefore, not unreasonable to infer that the "tribes, who were so called, took their name from their habit of carrying "axes. Now it is one of the striking peculiarities of the Savaras that they "are rarely seen without an axe in their hands."

[75] *See* Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde,* vol. II, p. 101, 469.

[76] Πουλῖνδαι ἀγριοφάγοι; Ptol., VII, 1, 64.

raw flesh and wild fruits eating Pulindas, as living north of the present Barok.

On Pulaha, Pulastya, Pulōman, &c.

The previously mentioned names of *Pulaha*, *Pulastya*, *Pulōman*, *&c.*, bear in their first two syllables *Pula* a strange resemblance to the name of the *Pulayar* and *Pulindas*. Sanskrit grammarians generally connect the names of these Saints with the root *pul*, to be great, and the word *Pulastya* is also derived from *pulas*, standing for *puras*. These derivations, however, appear too artificial.[77]

Pulastya is said to be the father of *Agastya* and *Viśravas*. Viśravas had four sons, *Kubēra* by Iḍaviḍā (or Ilavilā) and *Rāvaṇa*, *Kumbhakarṇa*, and *Vibhīṣaṇa* by Kēśinī. The saintly civiliser of Southern India, Agastya, is thus, as previously noticed, very closely indeed related to the chief of the hated Rākṣasas, being in fact the uncle of Rāvaṇa, the god-despising king of Laṅkā. While Rāvaṇa conquered India and reduced the gods to abject subjection, from which they were only rescued by Viṣṇu appearing as Bālarāma, his uncle Agastya waged war with the demons and advised Rāma how to subdue the Rākṣasas. Similar family discords assisted Rāma in his warfare against Rāvaṇa and Bāli, whose respective brothers Vibhīṣaṇa and Sugrīva joined Rāma.

While Rāvaṇa is regarded with horror by the Brahmans, *Rāvaṇabhēṭ*, a Vedic work on *Phonetics*, is ascribed to this Rākṣasa. His memory is still cherished by the Jains.

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77 Compare the remarks of the Rev. F. Kittel on the root *pulai*, *pule*, *pole* and on *Pulaha* and *Pulastya* in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII (1879), pp. 50, 51. Though I arrived at my conclusions previously to my reading Mr. Kittel's suggestive article, I admit his priority in this respect and gladly quote his opinion: "The *Pallava* . . and the *Pallavaka*, a libertine, a gallant, "I do not hesitate to connect with *Poleya*; and who knows whether the "ancient Pallava dynasty was not a dynasty of certain *Poleyas* when still a "powerful tribe."

It is also curious that Rāvaṇa is esteemed and acknowledged by pious Paṇḍits as a learned man, and is supposed to have been the author of a Telugu Grammar.[78]

Though the Rākṣasas are described in the Rāmāyaṇa and elsewhere as horrible monsters both physically and morally, it appears that the condition of being a Rākṣasa depended more upon the sins committed by an individual or by his progenitors than upon the accident of birth. If this be admitted, the physical monstrosities ascribed to the Rākṣasas must be regarded as the exaggerated creations of a morbid and hostile imagination.

Even the Rāmāyaṇa extols the beauty and grandeur of Laṅkā, its architectural splendour, and the efficiency of its administration. This latter was so excellent, that no thief dared to pick up any valuable thing lost in its streets. The enemies of Rāma could hardly, therefore, have been so rude and uncivilised as they are generally represented.

The ancient historical capital of Ceylon went by the name of Pulastinagara.[79] If Rāvaṇa is regarded as the king of Laṅkā, and perhaps also as the master of Southern India, and if the present Pulayar are admitted to be representatives of the aborigines, the startling similarity of the names *Pulastya* and *Pulayan* is at once explained.

The relationship between the Paulastya Agastya and the Paulastya Rāvaṇa opens at all events a new and wide perspective. It thus appears that the mind-born sons of Brahma should be taken as the progenitors of all the different races of India, and that, as all men emanate from one common source, no vital difference is acknowledged to exist between

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[78] Compare the Āndhra Kaumudī in which the *Rāvaṇīya*, the Telugu Grammar ascribed to Rāvaṇa, is repeatedly mentioned.

[79] Megasthenes calls the Singhalese *Palaiogonoi* and the *Periplus maris Erythræi* calls Ceylon *Palaesimundu*. See Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, I, p. 240 (2nd edition); compare also Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II (1873), p. 286, on Pulastipura.

them at first. The degraded condition into which some sank was, therefore, due to subsequent events.

The word *Pula* must be regarded as a corruption of *Palla.* This change from *a* to *u* is easily accounted for. Not only is the letter *a* changed into *u*, as in the Sanskrit *pala* which in Tamil becomes *pulai*, but the vowel *a* is often, especially in the North India, pronounced as *u*.

It is even possible that the names of the demon *Ilvala*, who was destroyed by Agastya, and of his son *Balvala* contain another reference to the original Pallas. At all events the similarity of the names of *Pulaha*, *Pulastya*, *Pulōman*, &c., with that of the Pulayar, as well as the connection which the near relationship between the Sage Agastya and the Rākṣasa Rāvaṇa suggests as existing between the Brahmanical civiliser of Southern India and the representative ruler of the aborigines, should command in future researches the attention of the scholar.

CHAPTER VI.

On the Pallis, Agnikulas, Pāndyas, Vellālar, &c.

The Agnikulas.

Another portion of the aboriginal South-Indian population is represented by the *Pal̤l̤is.* The Pal̤l̤is form at this moment on the whole a highly respectable class, living partly as agriculturists in the country and partly as citizens in towns. They belong to the caste of the *Vanniyar* (வன்னியர்).[80] The word Vanniyan is generally derived from the Sanskrit

[80] This caste includes also the Anuppar, Bailagar, Dēvadigar, Kallar, Maravar, Māsadikar, Bantar, Muppar, Nattambādis, Padaiyāccis, Parivārams, Sudras, Uppiliyar, Udayar and Vanniyar. According to the last Census Report the Pallis number 1,300,733 souls, of whom 1,295,049 live in the Madras Presidency, which number is only exceeded by the Shanar with 2,028,546, of whom 1,478,660 dwell also in Madras, by the Vellālar with 1,683,100, and by the Pariahs with 3,223,938 persons, and the whole of the other unclassified population consisting of 3,934,990 individuals. The last two figures refer to the Madras Presidency alone.

Vahni, fire. *Agni*, the god of fire, is connected with the regal office, as kings hold in their hands the firewheel or *Āgnēyacakra,* and the Vanniyar urge in support of their name the regal descent they claim, for they contend that the Pāṇḍya kings belonged to their race. In the north of India four races—the *Cauhān*, *Cālukya* (Sōlaṅki), *Pramāra*, and *Parihāra*—similarly claim to originate from Agni, and are called *Agnikulas*.

The existence of these Fire-races, *Agnikula* or *Vahnikula* (Vanniyan), in North and South India is a remarkable fact. No one can refuse to a scion of a Non-Aryan warrior tribe the title of *Rājaputra,* but in so doing we establish at once Aryan and Non-Aryan Rājaputras or Rājputs. The *Vanniyan* of South India may be accepted as a representative of the Non-Aryan Rājput element. Yet, if we thus admit a Turanian element among the Rājputs, the question arises, how far does it extend? The modern Rājputs of Northern India are in most cases the offspring of mixed parentage, for even Aryan warriors of pure extraction did not scorn in bye-gone times to take as wives by peaceful or violent means the alien daughters of the soil.[81]

The legend goes that after Paraśurāma had swept the Kṣatriya race from the surface of the earth, ignorance and infidelity began to spread again in the land, and the Brahmans were prevented by impious races—Asuras, Daityas, and Dānavas—from fulfilling their sacred rites. *Vasiṣṭha*, or according to others his great rival *Viśvāmitra*, took compassion on the oppressed, and with Indra, Brahma, Śiva, Viṣṇu and the other gods repaired to the Agnikuṇḍa, *i.e.*, the hollow which contained the consecrated fire, on Mount *Abu*, the celebrated peak of Rājasthan. There the hermits prayed and purified the fire fountain with the sacred water of the Ganges. *Indra* first formed a figure of grass and sprinkling on

[81] Compare p. 73 on the genealogies of the Rājputs.

it the water of life, cried: "*Mār, Mār*" "Slay, Slay," and the *Paramāra*, the killer of enemies, appeared. Abu Dhar and Ujjain were assigned to him as his territory. *Brahma* instilled his essence into the second image, and throwing it into the pit, *Caluk* or Sōlaṅki appeared with a sword in one hand, the Vēda in the other, and a noose round his neck. He received *Anhalpur*. *Śiva* formed the third figure, and Parihāra rose as an ill-favored black figure armed with a bow. He stumbled and was placed as a guardian at the temple gates. Nine places of the desert, *Marusthalam*, were assigned to him. *Viṣṇu* formed Caturbhuja Cauhān, who appeared like him *four-armed*, in each arm carrying a peculiar weapon. He received *Macāvati Nagarī*. These were the ancestors of the *Agnikulas* who destroyed the *demon races*, and of all the thirty-six royal races the four Agnikulas rank highest, according to "*Chand*, the great bard of the Chohans."[82] This creation "is dated so far back as the opening of the second "age of the Hindus" (Tod, *ibidem*, p. 442). Chohan chronicles mention *Aja* as the founder of *Ajmere*, the mountain of

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[82] See for this account Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. II, pp. 440, ff. *Viśvāmitra* is here mentioned as the presiding priest, while in the first volume, p. 95, *Vasiṣṭha* fills this place: "From the fire-fountain a figure issued forth, but he had not a warrior's mien. The Brahmins placed him as guardian of the gate, and thence his name, Prithiha-dwara (portal or door (*dwar*) of the earth; contracted to Prithihara and Purihara). A second issued forth, and being formed in the palm (*chaloo*) of the hand was called Chalooka. A third appeared and was named Pramara (the first striker). He had the blessing of the Rics, and with the others went against the demons, but they did not prevail. Again Vasistha, seated on the lotus, prepared incantations; again he called the gods to aid: and as he poured forth the libation, a figure arose, lofty in stature, of elevated front, hair like jet, eyes rolling, breast expanded, fierce, terrific, clad in armour, quiver filled, a bow in one hand and a brand in the other, quadriform (*chatooranga*), whence his name Chohan (*chatoor* or *cha*, 'four'; *Anga*, body')."

The discrepancies between these two legends are considerable, not only so far as the presiding priests are concerned, but also with respect to the order of creation, and because in the description given in the text the gods themselves take part in the creation. *Caluka* or *culuka* signifies a hollowed hand to hold water. Colonel Tod assigns (II, p. 441), as above stated, the *nonāngul Marusthali*, or 'nine habitations of the desert' to Parihāra, while he had previously (vol. I, p. 91) allotted the *No-kote Maroosthulli* to Pramāra.

Aja. Tradition connects Candragupta with the *Mōri* branch of the Pramāras. *Ujjayinī*, the capital of Vikramāditya, is assigned to them, and *Bhōja Rāja*, at whose court the *Nine Gems* are said to have flourished, belonged to the Pramāra tribe.

It is not my purpose to discuss here the fortunes of these celebrated clans; they are only of interest in this inquiry in so far as a connection might be established between the Agnikula of the North and the Vanniyar of the South.

Lassen regards the derivation of the name *Pramāra* from *Paramāra* in the sense of *killer of enemies* as suspicious and ascribes it to a later period.[83] Colonel Tod says: "that "these races, the sons of Agni, were but regenerated, and "converted by the Brahmins to fight their battles, the "clearest interpretation of their allegorical history will dis-"close, and . . warrants our asserting the Agniculas to be "of this same race, which invaded India about two centuries "before Christ."—(Vol. I, p. 90.) No matter whether Colonel Tod's reasoning and conclusion are right or wrong, one can agree with him so far as the Non-Aryan origin of the Agnikulas is concerned.

As has already been stated, mention is made by Ptolemy, VII, 1, 70, of the Pōruaroi (*Πωρουάροι*), a name which Lassen thinks is derived from Pramāra.[84] I believe that Lassen is mistaken on this point. I prefer to explain the *m* as a modification of an original *v*, as, *e.g.*, in *Vellama* for Pallava, and to suggest *Paravāra* as the original form of Paramāra.

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[83] See Lassen's *Ind. Alterth.*, III, p. 572: "Da sein Name sonst *Prāmāra* lautet, must jene Erklärung des Namens als eine willkührliche Dichtung gelten."

[84] See Lassen, *ibidem*, III, p. 150: "Von den Porvaroi habe ich schon früher bemerkt, dass ihr Name höchst wahrscheinlich aus dem bekannten, sich *Prāmāra* nennenden Geschlechte der Rajaputra enstellt ist, welcher in der Volkssprache Punvar lautet und in dieser Form weiter von Prāmāra entfernt ist, als Porvara."

I have already connected the Paravārī of the Marātha country with the Pōruaroi of Ptolemy, and eventually with the Pariahs of Southern India. Others identify the Pōruaroi with the Parihāras. Whichever derivation is right, we cannot be far wrong, if we regard the connection between the *Pōruaroi* and the Paravar and Pariahs as established, mainly in consequence of the identity between the Marāthi Paravārī and the Mahārs.[85]

One of the 15 sub-divisions of the South-Indian Vanniyar is called *Parivāram*, which name, if not of Sanskrit origin, may likewise be considered as a connecting link between the northern and southern Paravārī.

Under these circumstances the terms *Pramāra* and *Parihāra* can be traced to an ancient Dravidian source and associated with the Pāradas and similar names. Dr. Fr. Buchanan has, as I have quoted, proposed to connect the Parihāras with the Bhārs.

No doubt most of the Rājputs are easily distinguishable from other Hindus by their proud bearing, fine figure and lighter complexion, but these peculiarities do not necessarily point to an Aryan origin, for such varieties in outward appearance are found in all large nations which contain different classes and ranks. The Turcomans of Western Asia, the Osmanli Turks and the Magyars of Hungary, who are not Aryans, count among the finest races. If the origin of the Agnikulas throughout India can be eventually proved as Non-Aryan, a very important historical fact will

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[85] *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 5. "The *Poruāri*, who are "very probably the same people as the Parihārs;" *ibidem*, vol. XXI, p. 93: "To the south of the Bolingae, Ptolemy places the *Poruari* with their three "towns, named *Bridama*, *Tholobana*, and *Malaita*. The people I take to be "the Parihār Rājputs, who have occupied this part of the country from a "very early date."—Mr. McCrindle says in his *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 164: "Pōrouaroi (*Pōrvaroi*):—This is the famous race of the Pauravas, which, after the time of Alexander, was all predominant in Rajasthāna under the name of the Pramāras."

have been ascertained. New researches have shown that the Aryan population in India is very limited in numbers, and that even admitting all Brahmans to be of pure Aryan origin, this highest caste counts according to the last census only 13,693,439 members against a grand total of 252,541,210.[86]

On the Pallis.

A feeling of superiority has of late re-asserted itself among the Pallis. The Madras Census Report of 1871 states: "The *Vunnias* or *Pullies* are the great agricultural laboring "class of the southern districts. Before the British occu-"pation of the country, they were slaves to the Vellalar "and Brahman cultivators; but a large number of them "are now cultivators on their own account, or else work the "lands of the higher castes, on a system of sharing half "the net produce with the proprietor."[87] With the return

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[86] See *Madras Census Report* of 1881, vol. I, pp. 103–105. "It will also be "unnecessary here to go over the old discussion as to how far the caste system "of Southern India is of Aryan origin. It may be safely accepted that the "mass of the people are not Aryan; that indeed none of them are Aryan, "except the Brāhmans, probably not all of these, for there are several classes "or sub-divisions of Brāhmans of more or less hazy origin. All the rest of "the so-called Hindus may, if they please, call themselves Shūdras, but they "are in fact a Dravidian or Turanian or Scythian people, who have adopted "in a very highly-developed form, the Aryan caste system, whose germs are "found in the four caste system of Menu . . . Of late years, castes have been "so infinitely multiplied that, even if there were any recognised principle of "precedence, the *nuances* of rank would be so slight, that the places of the "several castes could not be distinguished. But there is no such principle. "Except the members of the admittedly degraded and depressed castes, each "Shūdra thinks, or professes to think, his caste better than his neighbour's. "The Shānār claims to be Rājput. The Kammāla and Pattnūl growl that, if "they had their rights, they would be recognised as Brāhmans. But in this "matter, as in the matter of occupation, modern innovation has had its effect. "Wealth means social pre-eminence in the India of 1881, nearly as much as "it does in England. A Shūdra millionaire cannot be made a Brāhman, but "he can purchase the services of Brāhmans. A Brāhman cannot eat with "him; but this is the Brāhman's loss, for the millionaire's rice is fair and "his ghee unexceptionable."

[87] The *Madras Census Report*, vol. I, p. 157, continues: "Others are simply labourers, and many of them, by taking advances from their employers, are still practically serfs of the soil, and unable to extricate

of self-esteem and independence the Pa̤l̤lis have not been backward in denying such a statement as the one just made concerning their alleged condition of serfdom, and in urging their claims. They have thus lately presented to Government a petition in order to obtain certain concessions at Kāñcīpuram, Śrīraṅgam and Madras. They claim to be the descendants of Maṇimahāmuni and, as what formerly belonged to them, demand the Dharmakartaship of the Ēkāṁbarēśvarasvāmi-kōvil in Kāñcīpuram, and the censorship over the nine classes of people there, including in it even the chiefs of the Itaṅkai and Valaṅkai, *i.e.*, of the left and right hand people. The *Jātisaṅgrahasāra* and the *Jātibhēdanūl* contain much valuable information on this topic, though no critical acumen has been exercised in arranging and verifying the evidence.

It is very unfortunate that hardly any question of historical interest which concerns the various classes of the population of this country is considered with impartiality. Class interest and caste pride prevent unbiassed inquiries and even-balanced decisions. The relations of the various agri-

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themselves from the bondage of the landlord. In all respects, these people have the characteristics of aboriginal tribes. They are, as a rule, a very dark-skinned race, but good field laborers, excellent farm servants, and cultivators. They abound largely in the Tamil districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore. The *Vunnias*, like so many of the Sûdra castes in the south, are striving to prove that their position in the caste system is a wrong one. In 1833 they attempted, in Pondicherry, to get a legal decision that they were not of a low caste; but the administration refused to deal with the question, on the ground that the Hindu law did not refer to the *Vunnias* at all. There can be no doubt that when the aboriginal tribes ruled in South India, many *Vunnias* raised themselves to the position of *Polygars*, or independent chiefs. The term *Naick* is usually affixed to the names of the Vunnias, and the Naicks of Madura and Tinnevelly were great men not very long ago. There are about thirty sub-divisions of the *Pullies*, named chiefly after their different occupations, but they may all eat together and some intermarry." The Census of 1881, in vol. I, p. 104, says: "The Palli, once the Vellāla's slave, is still working on the soil as a laborer and often as a proprietor. But the work of divorce between occupation and caste has not only begun, but has advanced, and is advancing."

cultural classes to one another are very strained, and the evidence which the one may supply with respect to the other should always be accepted with great caution. Thus the acrimonious dissensions which exist between the Pal̤l̤is and Vel̤l̤āl̤ar are a matter of deep regret, but they must be mentioned here to explain why certain statements concerning both cannot be admitted in an historical inquiry, as they are unsupported by facts and are tainted by prejudice.[88]

The investigation which I am now making is *sine ira et studio*, and I trust it will be accepted as such by those who come within its range.

The difference which at an early stage divided the Pal̤l̤ar from the Pal̤l̤is was, I believe, that the former confined themselves to the country, *pālayam*, while the latter congregated mostly in villages and towns. These were named *palli* (பல்லி) or *pal̤l̤i* (பள்ளி) in contradistinction to the country or *Pāl̤aiyam* (பாளையம்) in Tamil and *pāl̤emu* (పాళెము) in Telugu. The feudal chieftains were called after the country Poligars.[89] The bulk of the Pallas, who lived as agricultural

[88] Compare "The Poyakharries *versus* Meerassidars, or the Revenue System of Madras," by A. Venkatachella Naicker, p. 9. Again, in the third place, Mr. Place states that the Pullees were servants of the Brahmins. Any thing more untrue could not be stated. The Pullees or Vunneers were not the servants of the Brahmins. They were formerly the ruling race of a very large portion of Southern India. The potentates, Sharen, Cholen, and Paundian were all Vunneers, and all the southern and western Poligars and Zemindars are, even at the present time, Vunneers; and on p. 12: In proof that the Pullees or Vunneers were the most powerful and most prevalent race in Southern India, there are the boundary stones which are marked with the Royal "wheel of mandate" an ensign of the royal descent of the Vunneers; also the inscriptions on the temples of Conjeeveram and in fact on the muntapums and other sacred shrines throughout the Chingleput district. Whilst the Vellaiars had the mark of a trident on their boundary stones, and the boundary stones of the agraharums bore the impression of a short Brahmin with an umbrella.

Consult about the Sāsanams concerning the Vanniyar *Jātisañgrahasāra*, pp. 272, 326, &c.

[89] *Pāl̤aiyakkāran* in Tamil and *Pāl̤egāḍu* in Telugu. For *Pāl̤emu*, encampment, baronial village, occurs in Telugu also the word *Velamu*.

labourers in the country, were, like our rustics, peasants or boors, while the inhabitants of a village or small town (*palli*, *palli*, *palle*, &c.), assuming the same name as the place they inhabited, became gradually urbane and polite citizens.[90]

The Pallis generally worship in temples dedicated to *Dharmarāja*. In these temples are found the images of Yudhiṣṭhira (or Dharmarāja) and of his four brothers Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sahadēva, of Draupadī, of Kṛṣṇa, and occasionally of Pōtarāja (also *Pōturāju* in Telugu and *Pōtappa* in Kanarese). The head of Irāvat, the son of Arjuna and Ulūpī, who, according to popular tradition, was killed on the day preceding the battle as an oblation to the battle-field, and whose head looked on the fight for eighteen days, is often exhibited on a pole during the festival. The Mahābhārata fixes the death of Irāvat on the eighth day of the battle. A Palli is, as a rule, the *pujāri* or priest of the shrine. The above-mentioned *Pōtarāja* is a rustic god revered especially in the Telugu, Kanarese, and Marāthi districts, and his wives are known as Gaṅgamma, Pōlakamma or Pōlēramma (the goddess of small-pox), &c.

At the great annual festival in honor of Dharmarāja, or the local god or goddess, people walk over burning coals, in order to testify their purity of mind.

The worship of Dharmarāja is very popular ; it is, perhaps, the most widely spread in this country. Over 500 Dharmarāja temples exist in South-Arcot alone. The village goddess is occasionally called Draupadī, and, even where she has a name of her own, she is often merely a substitute for the wife of the Pāṇḍavas. The popularity which the latter enjoy among the lower classes of the inhabitants throughout India is very significant, inasmuch as it is in opposition to *Rāma*, the favorite hero and divine represent-

[90] Compare the meaning of *nāgara* and *nāgaraka*, citizen, polite, clever, from *nagara*, town, in Sanskrit ; with πολιτικός from πολίς in Greek ; and *urbanus* from *urbs* in Latin.

ative among the Brahmans. It is also remarkable that Brahmans have nothing to do with these temples.

Some of the most celebrated remains in India are those found at the *Seven Pagodas* near Madras. Famous among these rock temples and rock sculptures of *Māmallapuram* or *Māvallipuram* are the Rathas or monolithic temples of the five Pāṇḍavas and of their wife Draupadī. Māmallapuram or Māvallipuram stands, I believe, for *Mahāmallapuram* or *Mahāpallipuram*, that is, the town of the great Mallas or Paḻḻis, both designations being almost identical. And even if *Mahāvallipuram* is to be regarded as connected with the name of the great king *Bali*, he himself, as I have previously endeavoured to show on pp. 42 and 43, should be looked upon as the representative of the Mallas or Pallas, Paḻḻis and Pallavas. If we now associate the cult of the Pāṇḍavas with these relics at Māmallapuram and consider that the inhabitants of this town, the Mallas, worshipped those heroes as do their descendants even to-day, and that the Paḻḻis are the *pujāris* of these deified persons at this moment, I believe that a relation has been sufficiently established between the Pāṇḍavas and the original inhabitants of this country.[91]

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[91] See in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, pp. 190 and 191, the article: "Walking through Fire," by Mr. H. J. Stokes, M.C.S. "The situation was on an extensive open plain before the village deity *Draupatī Amman's* temple. The pit lay east and west; the image of the goddess was placed at the west end, and it was towards it that the worshipper walked along the length of the pit from east to west." Vīrappa Vāndyān states:—"I was one of the "eight persons who carried the goddess Draupatī Amman to the place where "the fire-treading took place. The fire-pit was a trench about two poles "long by two strides broad. Six bābūl trees were cut into faggots and "kindled. Those who trod on the fire were Nachchu, Pūjāri of Periyān-"guḍi, Chidambaram; Pūjāri of Angalamman temple at Achchutaman-"galam; Rāmasāmi Pillei, Stānika of Draupatī Amman of Periyānguḍi; "Sāmināda Paḍeyāchi of the same place, his brother Subrāya; Subba-"nāyakkan of Vālkei. . ." Nāgappa Malavarāyan states:—"I live in the next "street to the temple of Draupatī." . . Nachchu Paḍeyāchi states:—"I am "Pūjāri of this temple of Draupatī." The practice of fire-treading is "connected in some places with a legend of Draupadī . . ., the wife of the

In Chingleput and its neighbourhood the Pallis add to their name the title of *Nāyakar* or leader, which term is synonymous with the Telugu *Nāyaḍu* and the Malayālam *Nāyar.* Those in Tanjore and its neighbourhood prefer the Tamil title *Paḍaiyācci* (படையாச்சி),[92] army-leader, which has the same meaning as Nāyakar ; while others in Coimbatore, Salem, North and South-Arcot call themselves, like the neighbouring hill men, *Kauṇḍar* (கௌண்டர் or கவுண்டர்). I connect this word with the root *ko*, and derive it from *koṇḍa*, mountain, and if this etymology is right, it shows that these Pallis have preserved in their name some recollection of their original habitat.

Pāṇḍavas."—I have mentioned the names of the worshippers, in order to prove that they are Pallis (Nāyakar) and Paḍaiyāccis.

Read also "The Village Feast," by Captain J.S.F. Mackenzie in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, pp. 6–9, and "Passing through Fire," by Mr. M. J. Walhouse, late M.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII., pp. 126–129 : "When not done in discharge of vows made in time of sickness or disaster, "the fire-walking seemed to be performed (generally in March and June) in "most places in honour of Vīrabhadra, the portentous flame-clad progeny "of Śiva, who is especially feared as presiding over family discord and mis-"fortune, or else of Dharmarāja, the elder Pāṇḍava, to whom there are five "hundred temples in South Arkaṭ alone, and with whom and Draupadī the "ceremony has some particular association. In Ganjam and Maisūr it is per-"formed in honour of a village goddess, and everywhere seems connected "with aboriginal rites and Śiva-worship, Brāhmaṇs always disowning it." I myself witnessed this fire-treading in June 1885 in Coimbatore. With respect to the sun worship previously mentioned on p. 62 as peculiar to the Scythians, it should be remembered that Draupadī prayed twice to the sun god for assistance. Concerning the explanation of Mahāmallapura I may also add that I regard *Mallapura* as the original form of Mailapur in Madras. These names will be considered in the last part of this treatise.

[92] The higher castes are often anxious to enhance their superiority at the expense of their inferiors, whom they ridicule. To this tendency must be ascribed many expressions which reflect on the language used by Pariahs, Pallar, Pallis, and Paḍaiyāccis. The word Paḍaiyācci is derived from *paḍai* and *āṭci*, which originally signified *Army ruling*. Its more correct spelling is Paḍaiyāṭci, படையாட்சி.

The Rev. Mr. Löventhal of Vellore informs me that the hill-people near Vellore insist on being addressed as *Gauṇḍan* and *Gauṇḍaḷ*, and that they feel insulted when called *Ayya* or *Amma*. He tells me also that many Pallis adopt now the title Mudaliyār. Occasionally the term Kauṇḍar is used by Pulayar and Caṇḍālas.

The few necessaries which in India suffice to sustain life, the simplicity of manners, and similarity of external wants create a great uniformity in the habits and mode of living among the population. In this respect there is less difference, perhaps, between the rich and the poor in India than elsewhere. The dwelling places are pretty much the same in villages as in towns, and architectural ambition displays itself mostly in the erection of the temples devoted to the gods, or the palaces occupied by the kings. Difference in population—irrespective of caste, religion, and occupation—forms, therefore, in India the most striking distinction between village and town. In these circumstances even speech does not, as a rule, distinguish between them, and in the Dravidian languages the same expressions *paḻḻi* (*palli*, *haḻḻi*, *&c.*) and *ūr* (*ūru*, &c.) are applied both to village and town.

Different meanings of the word Palli.

The word *Palli* has also various other meanings. In towns, and even in small villages, where people congregate in greater numbers, such buildings and institutions as temples and schools are more easily and more appropriately founded than in a lonely and sparsely populated country. These establishments are accordingly called after the place in which they are erected. The Buddhist and Jain missionaries were probably the first preachers and religious teachers who devoted themselves to the indigenous population and who succeeded in their efforts to win by their sympathy the affection of the masses. This may be the reason why a temple, more particularly if Buddhistic and Jaina, is called *paḻḻi*.

Everything connected with royalty has the term *paḻḻi* prefixed to it in Malayālam as *paḻḻikōvilakam*, a royal palace, *paḻḻimetta*, a royal bed, *paḻḻivāḷ*, a royal sword, *paḻḻivēṭṭa*, a royal chase, &c.[93] This expression is very peculiar indeed,

[93] In Tamil the word *paḻḻi* is at times also used in the sense of *royal*, thus *paḻḻiyaṟai*, like the Malayālam *paḻḻiyaṟa*, denotes the royal bed-chamber,

and seems to prove that the recollection of the splendour and power of the ancient *Pallas* or *Pallis* had not died out in the minds of the people when these words came into use.

The Buddhist missionaries, who propagated throughout India the precepts of their master, spoke and wrote a Prākritised form of Sanskrit. This became gradually the sacred language of the Buddhists, and from India it was, together with the Buddhistic faith, introduced into Ceylon. Though this idiom differed widely from the language which the Dravidian Pallas spoke in those days, in the same way as the priestly Latin differed much from the vernaculars of Northern Europe into which it spread with the progress of Christianity, yet, as the Buddhistic religion came to Ceylon from the country inhabited mostly by Pallas, or in whose towns and temples—*Palli* or *Pāḻi*—it had found a firm abode, the dialect in which the sacred books reached Ceylon was likewise called *Pāli* after them.

Explanation of the words Pāṇḍya, Vellāla, Ballāla, Bhillāla.

The Pallar and Pallis claim, as has been previously pointed out, kinship with the kings who ruled over them, *i.e.*, with the Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas. It has been proved that a philological connection can be established between the words *Palla*, *Palli* and *Pallava*, and no great difficulty will be experienced in extending it to the name of the Pāṇḍyas.

The *Pāṇḍyas* of Southern India have been linked by legends with the Pāṇḍavas of the North. According to the Harivaṁśa (XXXII, 123), *Pāṇḍya*, together with *Kērala*, *Kōla*, and *Cōla*, was a descendant of the famous king *Duṣyanta*, the husband of Śakuntalā and father of Bharata. *Arjuna* meets and fights in his adventures for the Aśvamēdha with

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while *paḍakkaiyaṟai* is the common sleeping room. Compare also about *palli* in the sense of a royal title the *Jātisaṅgrahasāra*, p. 281.

his son *Babhruvāhana*, the king of Maṇipura, which place I have identified with Madura.[94]

The legend of the king Vijaya of Laṅkā is likewise mysteriously and intimately connected with the Pāṇḍavas. He is reported to have wedded a daughter of the Pāṇḍava king of the southern Mathurā, and, as he had from her no offspring, to have invited his nephew from the Indian continent to become his successor. This nephew, *Pāṇḍuvaṁśadēva*, married, in his turn, the princess Bhadrakāñcanā, the daughter of *Pāṇḍu-Śākya* and grand-cousin of Buddha, who had drifted in a boat with her 32 lady companions to Laṅkā and arrived providentially just in time to marry the king.[95]

But there exist also other legends which do not mention this connection between the Pāṇḍavas of the North and the Pāṇḍyas in the South. Among these is one which ascribes the colonisation and civilisation to a northern *Veḷḷaḷan* named *Madura Pāṇḍiyan*, who, on his pilgrimage to Ramēśvara, observed the great fertility of the *Daṇḍaka* forest and determined to settle in it. He returned to his own town, came back to the South with his family and dependents, cleared the country and erected on the banks of the *Vaikai* river his capital, which he called after himself Madura. The neighbouring Maṟavar assisted him much in the cultivation of the country and foundation of his capital. *Madura Pāṇḍiyan* ruled according to this account 50 years after his arrival, and died 90 years old. He was succeeded by his son *Candrapāṇḍiyan*, who reigned 40 years. *Malayadrajapāṇḍiyan* and *Alakapāṇḍiyan* are mentioned as the next kings.[96]

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94 See my monograph "On the Weapons of the Ancient Hindus," pp. 145-152.

95 See Lassen's *Ind. Alterth.*, vol. II, pp. 95-111.

96 See "Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pāndya," by Horace Hayman Wilson, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of G. B. and I.*, vol. III, pp. 199–242, 1836, reprinted in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. VI, pp. 176-216, and H. H. Wilson's Supplementary Note in the *Madras Journal*, vol. VI, pp. 217–220. Compare also Rev. William Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, Madras, 1835, in two volumes; and

Though some have proposed to derive the name *Pāṇḍya*

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his *Observations on Professor Wilson's Historical Sketch* in the same volume of the *Madras Journal*, pp. 142–157. H. H. Wilson had said in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. III, p. 201, and in the *Madras Journal*, vol. VI, p. 177, that "an adventurer, named Pāndya, of the Velālar or "agricultural tribe, first established himself in that portion of the south to "which his name was afterwards assigned." See also Wilson's *Mackenzie Collections*, Introduction, p. 45, and *Tamul Books*, p. 203 (new edition).

The Rev. W. Taylor took exception to these statements in his *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, vol. II, pp. 73, 74, and its Appendix, pp. 35 and 39, and animadverted on Wilson's want of acquaintance with the Tamil language (p. 63), to which charges Wilson replied in his *Supplementary Note*. The Rev. W. Taylor admitted the error of indulging in strong language, but maintained (on p. 144) that: "*Vada désattilulla pāndiyan*. "*ākira vellāzhan* might have been still better and more accurately rendered "an ancient agriculturist in (or of) the north country," and (on p. 149) that "there is, however, throughout no mention of this person's proper name." In both these statements Taylor is not quite correct. *Akira* means here "called," for in the same manuscript occur repeatedly such phrases as *Irāmanākirairācā*, the king called Rāma, or *Sītaiyākira peṇcāti*, the wife called Sītā.

The Tamil manuscript in question is the *Pāṇṭiyamaṇṭalam Cōḻamaṇṭalam pūrvikarājācaritravoḻunku* in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library No. 241, in Wilson's *Mackenzie Collections*, Tamil Local History No. 4, and in W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III, p. 88, No. 2322. On p. 4a the *Pāṇḍiyan* is first mentioned as follows: அப்படியே வடதேசத்திலுள்ள பாண்டியனாகிற வெள்ளாளனிந்த ராமேசுரயாத்திரைக்குப்புறப் பட்டு வந்தான் (Appaṭiye vaṭatēcattil uḷḷa Pāṇṭiyan ākiṟa Veḷḷāḷan inta Rāmēcurayāttiraikku puṟappaṭṭu vantān). The translation of which sentence is: "Thus having started came on a pilgrimage to Rāmēśvara a Veḷḷāḷan named Pāṇḍiya, who lived in the northern country." Again on p. 5 b: இப்படி . . . . யரசன் பாண்டியன் பேர் மதுரநாயக பாண்டியன் அவன் முதலுண்டு பண்ணின பட்டணத்துக்குத்தன் பேரைத்தா னே வைத்து மதுராபுரி யென்றும் மதுரைநகரென்றும் பேரிட்டு பின்னு மநேகப் பட்டணங்களையுமுண்டு பண்ணினான் (Ippaṭi . . yaracan Pāṇṭiyan pēr Maturanāyaka Pāṇṭiyan avan mutal uṇṭu paṇṇina paṭṭaṇattukku tan pērai tānē vaittu Maturāpuri yenṟum Maturainakarenṟum pēriṭṭu pinnum anēkappaṭṭaṇaṅkalaiyum uṇṭu paṇṇinān); or in English: Thus this Pāṇḍiya king, called Maturapāṇḍiyan, having given to the town he founded first his own name, and having named it Maturāpuri or Maturainagar, established afterwards many towns." The founder of the Cōḻa kingdom, *Tāyamān Naḻḻi*, is also called a Veḷḷāḷan, see p. 66. Compare Lassen's *Indische Alterth.*, vol. II, p. 108. Mr. J. H. Nelson remarks in his *Manual of Madura*, Part III, p. 44: "The story of the man of Oude may doubtless be found in certain Hindû writings, but I do not believe it is traditional in the country to which it relates. And the Pândya kings of the lunar race are commonly believed to be of the Kshatriya, not of the Vellâla or any

directly from Pāṇḍu and some have ventured other explanations, I believe that none are generally accepted as correct.[97]

I do not flatter myself that I have solved the difficulty, but merely hazard a new conjecture. I suggest that the word *Pāṇḍi* (பாண்டி), which is specially applied to the ancient kingdom of Madura, and the term *Pāṇḍiyan* (பாண்டியன்), which denotes the king who ruled over it, the *Pandiōn*, *Πανδίων* of Ptolemy, VII, 1, 11, are contracted forms for *Paḻḻāṇḍi* and *Paḻḻāṇḍiyan*. The king of Madura, the Perumāl of the Pāṇḍiyas, was regarded as the most powerful king of Southern India, and as such he might well have been named after the people over whom he ruled. The word *Paḻḻāṇḍiyan*, the king of the Pallas, was contracted into Pāṇḍiyan as Tiruvaḻḻaṅkōḍu has become *Tiruvāṅkōḍu*, &c.[98] *Áṇḍi* (ஆண்டி) and *āṇḍavan* (ஆண்டவன்), ruler, come from

agricultural caste." Compare also Part II, p. 31. Already the Rev. W. Taylor has pointed out that Oude is not mentioned as Pāṇḍya's, but only as Rāma's home. Whatever is the right extraction of the Veḻḻāḻar, they as well as their Telugu relatives, the Velamas, regard themselves as Kṣatriyas. The Rev. J. F. Kearns in *The Tribes of South India*, Madras, 1860, alludes to the tradition that the Reddies of Tinnevelly derive their origin from Oude, for he says on p. 8: "There is, however, a circumstance connected with the Reddies which in some degree appears to impart an air of probability at least to the legend, namely, all the Reddies in the province style themselves *Oude* Reddies, and assert that Oude is the native country of their tribe."

97 Compare Lassen's *Ind. Alterth.*, vol. II, p. 102, and Bishop Caldwell's Introduction to his *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, p. 16: "The Sanskrit Pāṇḍya is written in Tamil Pāṇḍiya, but the more completely Tamilised form Pāṇḍi is still more commonly used all over Southern India. I derive *Pāṇḍi* not from the Tamil and Malayāḷam *paṇḍu*, ancient, though that is a very tempting derivation, but—as native scholars always derive the word—from the Sanskrit *Pāṇḍu*, the name of the father of the Pāṇḍava brothers. This very form *Pāṇḍya*, in the sense of a descendant of Pāṇḍu, is mentioned, as I am informed by Professor Max Müller, by Kātyāyana, the immediate successor of Pāṇini."

98 Compare *A History of Travancore*, by P. Shungoonny Menon, p. 2: "Thiruvancode instead of Sreevalumcode." *Tiruvidāṅkōḍu* is a wrong conjecture.

Not far from Tiruvaḻḻaṅkōḍu lies *Vaḻḻavaṅkōḍu*, both localities being intimately connected with each other in the history of Travancore. I have also strong reasons to suppose that the name of *Tiruvāṅgāḍu* near Tellicherry is the same as that of *Tiruvalaṅgāḍu* near Calicut. Both places have celebrated temples. That of the latter belongs to the Zamorin. I regard the usual

the Dravidian root *āḻ*, to rule. If we admit that names in common use are more subject to change than other words, the alteration from *āṇḍavan* to *āṇḍiyan* can be easily accounted for. Yet even this modification is not absolutely necessary, as *āṇḍiyan* can also be formed by adding the pronominal affix *an* to *āṇḍi.*[99]

The root *āḻ* is also used in the formation of other similar words, *e.g.*, in *Vāḻḻāḻa* (*Veḻḻāḻa*), *Ballāḻa*, *Bhillāḻa*, &c., and indicates a person of influence among or a lord of the Vallas, Ballas, and Bhillas, which names were originally identical with the name of the Pallas.

The *Veḻḻaḻan* is thus the territorial lord of the despised Paḻḻan, and though both were originally intimately connected with each other, the institution of caste seems to have parted them for good. The relation of the Paḻḻan to the Veḻḻāḻan was that of serf to the owner of the soil, like what existed in Russia, where both, serf and master, belong to the same nation. The abbreviated form of Veḻḻāḻan is Veḻḻāḻ. It is dialectically changed in Kanarese into *Bellāḻ* and is applied to the landowning agriculturist of Kanara. The Toda words *Pālāḻ*, the milkman or priest, and *Kāvilāḻ*, herdsman, are similarly formed. Veḻḻāḻan is also contracted into Veḻḻān.

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derivation of *vala* in Tiruvalaṅgāḍu from the Sanskrit word *valaya*, bracelet, and the legend connected with this *valaya* as a later invention.

Some time ago advised by a friend I visited *Gūḍuvāñcēri*, a small station on the South-Indian Railway, between Pallavaram and Chingleput, in search of some old tombs. Nobody in Gūḍuvāñcēri was acquainted with these remains. I found them on the slope of a hill near the hamlet *Vallañcēri*, whence the old now deserted village Paḻḻañcēri was pointed out to me. I was further told that Gūḍuvāñcēri was formerly called Putuvāñcēri or New Vāñcēri. In this case Vāñcēri should be regarded as a contraction of Vaḻḻañcēri.

Sir A. Cunningham identifies in vol. IX, p. 56 of the *Arch. Surv. of India*, *Bāndogarh* with the *Balantipurgon* of Ptolemy; and this derivation is repeated in vol. XXI, p. 92: " Mr. Carlleyle also suggests that Ptolemy's " fort of Balantipurgon, which I have identified with Bando-garh, may have " derived its name from the Bālands."

[99] See *note* 16 about Subrahmaṇya being called *Paḻani Āṇḍi* or *Paḻani Āṇḍavar.*

As the Veḷḷāḷar are essentially agriculturists and live upon the produce which they derive from cultivation, agriculture is called in Tamil and in Malayālam *veḷḷāṇmai* or *veḷḷāyma*. The Tamil word *Veḷḷāṇmai* is a compound of *Veḷḷaḷ* and *mai*, the affix indicating abstract nouns. It means Veḷḷāḷanship or the occupation and position of a Veḷḷāḷan or cultivator. It may perhaps be necessary to add that the terms *Veḷḷāḷan* and *Veḷḷāṇma* are hardly ever used in Malabar, except in Pālghāt, which, as a border district between the Tamil and Malayālam speaking population, contains many Tamil words. It is customary to derive the name of the *Veḷḷāḷan* from *veḷḷāṇmai*, *i.e.*, the name of the cultivator from the work of cultivation to which he is devoted, but I regard this explanation as erroneous. The Telugu representative of the Tamil *Veḷḷāḷan* is the *Velama* (Vellama), and if *veḷ-ḷāṇmai*, agriculture, were derived from a common Dravidian root, a representative of this word should be found in all or most Dravidian languages. It is most probably not indigenous in Malayālam, nor does it exist in Telugu, where we find words like *kāpu* denote a cultivator and *sāgu* cultivation. The *Velama* is the baron, the *grand-seigneur*, in the Telugu country. Most of the Telugu Rājas belong to the Velama caste. The identity of Velama and Pallava has been already established by me. The *Veḷḷāḷar* of Malabar are called *Nāyar*, which word means, as we have seen, *ruler*. This circumstance is very significant, as the term Veḷḷāḷan, according to my explanation, designates also a ruler.[100]

[100] The derivation of *Veḷḷāṇmai* is very uncertain. The Tamil paṇḍits propose different explanations, a sure indication of their uncertainty. Some derive the word from *vēḷ*, benefit, and wish to write it accordingly *Vēḷāṇmai*; others prefer *Veḷḷam*, abundance, &c. The Veḷḷāḷar are cultivators. Cultivation is in India generally divided into *dry* cultivation, which is applied in higher levels and in places which depend entirely on the rainfall, and into *wet* cultivation, which is carried on by means of *irrigation* chiefly from tanks. These two kinds of cultivation are called in Tamil *puncey* (or *puñcai*) and *nancey* (நன்செய் or *nañcey*), in Telugu *meṭṭa* and *pallam* from *pallam*, plain, and in Kanarese *beṭṭa* and *haḷḷa*. *Pul* and *nal* mean bad and good; *puñcey* is a sterile field for dry grains and *nañcey* a

The name of the Ballālas is well known by the dynasty which brought it into prominence, and to which I have alluded previously.

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rice field. The Telugu and Kanarese expressions denote high land and low land. The high land for want of irrigation produces generally poorer crops than the well-irrigated low land. *Veḻḻam* in Tamil, *Velluva* in Telugu, and *Boḻḻa* in Tulu denote as in the other Dravidian languages *flood* and *inundation*. No inundation can be without water, and in Malayāḷam *Veḻḻam* seems to mean also water, but this appears not to be the case in Tamil and Telugu. Mr. Nelson has in his laborious *Manual of Madura* first proposed to derive *Veḻḻāṇmai* from veḻḻam and *āṇmai*. He says in Part II, p. 31 : "The Tamil "mode of spelling the word Vellālan is வெள்ளாளன் ; and as Vellānmei, "வெள்ளாண்மை, is the word commonly used to express the act of "cultivating (strictly, ruling or managing irrigation), it is but natural to "infer that Vellālan means a cultivator or irrigator of rice fields, rather "than a man of a particular tribe or country." This derivation has been accepted by some authors, generally without giving Mr. Nelson credit for it ; but it is not known to the Tamil paṇḍits whom I have consulted, and is repudiated by them. Dr. Gundert, who gives in his *Malayālam and English Dictionary water* as a meaning of *veḻḻam*, does not connect it with the word *veḻḻāṇmai* which he places under *veḻḻan*, a true man. *Veḻḻāṇmai* is also in Dr. Winslow's *Tamil and English Dictionary* not derived from "*veḻḻam* an inundation, a flood, a deluge, a strong current." It cannot be denied that it is grammatically possible to derive *veḻḻāṇmai* from *veḻḻam* and *āṇmai*, but as *veḻḻāṇmai* in this sense denotes only wet cultivation or irrigation, and the Veḻḻāḻan, as every agriculturist uses both dry and wet cultivation, this name would be inappropriate if applied to him. Curiously enough dry cultivation prevails, if I am not wrongly informed, in the wet districts on the West Coast of South India where, owing to the heaviness of the rain, no tank irrigation is necessary. The derivation from Paḻḻan and *āḻan* as the master of the Paḻḻar or agricultural labourers seems simpler and more preferable. My conjecture is supported by the Tamil and Malayālam term *Veḻḻāṭṭi*, a slave girl, a female servant. The meaning of this expression has not been explained so far as my knowledge goes, but is clear, if it is considered to denote a Paḻḻa woman, a woman of the servile class (பள்ள + ஆட்டி). In this particular instance *āṭṭi* signifies woman in general, as *āḻ* does also occasionally mean servant or slave. *Āṭṭi* occurs in a similar, though more respectable, sense in *manaiyāṭṭi*, housewife, and *peṇṭāṭṭi*, wife. The feminine of *Veḻḻāḻan* is *Veḻḻāḻacci*. The truth of the saying *Usus tyrannus* manifests itself peculiarly in this case. I may add that even my derivation of Veḻḻāṇmai contains the word *āṇmai* as formed from *āḻ* + *mai*.

The Purāṇa of *Tirukaḻukkunṟam* near Chingleput, also known as *Pakṣi-tīrtham*, mentions 24 classes of Veḻḻāḻar. They are generally divided in three great sections in Gaṅgākulatar, Indrakulatar, and Maṇkulatar. Of the 63 Aḻvār 13 are Veḻḻāḻār. Mr. Nelson has in his Manual on pp. 27–37 collected a great deal of information about them. Compare also "Notes

The Bhillālas are the chiefs among the Bhillas or Bhīls, some of whom are regarded as the offspring of Rājput men and Bhīl women.[101]

The similar formation of all these words tends much to prove the correctness of my conjecture, and as according to my explanation the meaning of *Pāṇḍiyan* as *Paḷḷāṇḍiyan* is identical with that of *Veḷḷāḷan*, the legend which assigns to the *Veḷḷāḷan*, who founded the celebrated kingdom of Madura in Southern India, the name of *Pāṇḍiyan* or of ruler of the Paḷḷas, may be considered as by no means irrelevant evidence in support of my theory.

In the foregoing pages I have endeavoured to prove the antiquity of the Gauda-Dravidian race in India, especially so far as its *Dravidian* branch is concerned. The second part of this discussion will treat of the *Gaudians*.

In following the ramifications of the Dravidian population throughout the peninsula, I hope I have been able to point out the connection which exists between several tribes, apparently widely different from each other. I have tried thus to identify the so-called Pariahs of Southern India with the old Dravidian mountaineers and to establish their relationship to the Bhārs, Brahuis, Mhārs, Mahārs, Pahārias, Paravārī, Pāradas and others; all these tribes forming, as it were, the first layer of the ancient Dravidian stratum. In addition to this I trust to have shown that all such different tribes as the Mallas, Pallas, Pallavas, Ballas, Bhillas and others are one and all offshoots of the Dravidian race, the derivation of whose name from *Tirumala*, as proposed by me, must, if established, also add some strength to my theory.

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on Castes in Southern India," by Mr. J. A. Boyle, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III (1874), pp. 287–289.

As *Paḷemu* is identical with *Velamu*, baronial village, so is Velama originally synonymous with Pāḷegāḍu. About the Vellamas compare Rev. John Cain's article in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, p. 216.

[101] Compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 208, and IV, pp. 338 and 339.

Moreover I have endeavoured to demonstrate how much that is now considered Aryan in name and in origin must be regarded as originally Dravidian.

The various principal Dravidian tribes who live scattered over the length and breadth of the vast Indian continent are, in order to establish their mutual kindredship, separately introduced into this discussion. This method may create in the minds of some readers an impression that the several topics are somewhat disconnected, but the necessity of this arrangement will become manifest in the continuation of this treatise. Where there is so much room for conjecture, it is easy enough, of course, to fall into error, and I shall be prepared to be told that many of my conclusions are erroneous and the hypotheses on which they are built fanciful.

Though much of what I have written may be shown to be untenable, I shall yet be satisfied if, in the main, I establish my contention, and I shall deem myself amply repaid for my labour if I succeed in any degree in restoring the Dravidian to those rights and honours of which he has so long been deprived.

My errors, too, may not be without use, if, like stranded vessels, they serve to direct the explorer, warning him away from those shoals and rocks that beset the enquirer in his search after truth.

System of Transliteration.

k, kh, g, gh, ṅ, ḥ, h, a, ā.
c, ch, j, jh, ñ, ś, y, i, ī, e,[102] ē, ai.
ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, ṣ, r, ṛ, ṝ.
t, th, d, dh, n, s, l, ḷ, ḹ.
p, ph, b, bh, m, ḥ, v, u, ū, o[102], ō, au.
Anusvāra ṁ; ṟ, ḻ, ḻ, are peculiar to the Dravidian languages.

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[102] Used in Dravidian languages. See also note 1 on p. 31.

Pāndyan Coins.

(By the Rev. JAMES E. TRACY, M.A.,
Tirumangalam, Madura District.)

Those who have been able to examine the recent volume of the International Numismata Orientalia, in which Sir Walter Elliot has gathered up the results of his many years numismatic research, will be gratified to see how large a number of previously unpublished coins, especially of the copper series, are there figured and described. Many of them have, indeed, long been well known to such numismatists as are favorably situated for the study of South Indian coins, but it is much that they have at last been put before the numismatic public, so that comparison and discussion may, if possible, focus upon them light, which would otherwise remain scattered, and also that other workers in the same line may have before them the results thus far attained. Some coins of the Pāndyan and neighbouring dynasties of South India have been brought to light since the collections of Sir Walter Elliot were made, or, if represented in his cabinets, have, at least, not been published by him. It is quite possible that these also may throw some light, either directly or indirectly, upon the subject.

The coins of the Pāndyans may be variously classified, either into typical series having reference to the ruling type or symbol employed, *e.g.*, fish type, boar type, elephant type, Ceylon-man type, &c., or into periodic series, as earlier and later, having reference to the age as indicated by the inscriptions, or as shown in the general style and appearance of the coins. The latter is perhaps the better classification, and is the one adopted by Sir Walter Elliot, who pronounces the earliest known Pāndyan coins to be those which have only

one symbol, that of the fish, and which have their inscriptions only in Nagari. These he places in the eighth or ninth century. All other types he refers to a later period. The change from the fish type to the Ceylon type he finds to have been subsequent to the well-known invasions of Rajendra Chola, and concludes "that the change took place somewhere about the eleventh or twelfth century."[1] The latter conclusion is abundantly supported and beyond controversy, but the former seems to have been less fully established, since coins are at hand which have for their only symbol the fish, and yet have changed from Nagari to Tamil as the language of their inscriptions. An example of this is a coin of (கோதண்டராமன்) Kothanda Rāman. If it be said that such coins are only later imitations of the coins of an earlier period, it may be replied that the style of the Tamil letters is consistent with that of the alphabets taken from the earliest Tamil inscriptions, and it may be further urged that no sufficient reason is apparent to account for such a reversion in style. Further search for, and comparison of, coins of this period will lead to safer conclusions than can now be arrived at.

The object of the present paper is to bring forward two or three evident corrections on the readings of Sir Walter Elliot, and to publish such coins of the Pāndyan series as have not heretofore been put before the numismatic public. All the coins now figured are of the later period; all are of copper; and all were found in the Madura district. Of nearly all, a very few duplicates are available for exchange.

Referring to Sir Walter Elliot's volume, I call attention first to Pl. III, figs. 136, 137, p. 152 F, which are read Samara Kolāhala. This reading is plainly incorrect. Whatever the reading should be, it certainly cannot be that. The coins are not uncommon: there is a third in the series which is not figured by Sir Walter Elliot, in which the read-

[1] Sir W. Elliot: "Coins of Southern India," p. 119.

ing is the same as in the two figured; and a comparison of several very clear specimens in my cabinet convinces me that the reading of all three is the same and should be எல்லாநகரையாளன் Ellā Nagarai Ālan *Ruler of all cities*, just as in Sir Walter Elliot's Pl. IV, fig. 139, the legend is read Kôrkai Āndar.

Again, Sir Walter Elliot's Coin, Pl. IV, fig. 144, p. 152 E, and p. 127, is read "Tirumala?" I have a fine specimen of this coin in which the legend is complete, and reads, clearly and without doubt, ஜகவீரராமன் Jagavīra-rấman in three lines, the last line of which shows the "ம" which suggested, but wrongly, the திருமல Tirumala of the letter-press and catalogue.

Once more Sir Walter Elliot's coin, Pl. IV, fig. 147, pp. 152 G. and 124-5 is read on the authority of Dr. Caldwell, Káyal. With all due modesty in the presence of such an authority, I feel confident from the specimens of the same coin in my cabinet, that the reading should be corrected to கலியுகராமன் Kaliyuka Rāman.

So much by way of correction. Of omissions it would be ungracious to speak where so much has been included, but one could wish that some of the coins more recently brought to light might have found a place in Sir Walter's beautiful plates. They might not, perhaps, add much immediate and direct information, but would aid somewhat as incentive to still further investigation. I wish somebody competent to do so would prepare a catalogue gathering up each and every type of known Pāndyan coin which has been published at any time, giving references to plates and letter-press. We should know then how to take inventory of our present information.

The coins now figured are as follows:—Fig. 1. *Obverse.*—Sitting Singalese-Chola figure. Before the face of the figure is the Tamil legend புதல Púthala, and below the legend two small figures of fishes: around all a border of dots.

Reverse.—The standing Ceylon-man with hanging lamp in right hand and under the left hand the ankusam or elephant goad.

This name does not occur either in the lists of Pāndyan kings; in any known inscription; nor have I been able to hear of any tradition bearing upon it.

Fig. 2. *Obverse.*—Inscription in Tamil கோதண்டராமன் Kothanda Rāman in three lines, and covering the whole field. Above the inscription a figure, perhaps for ornament.

Reverse.—Sceptre, between two fishes; above the sceptre the crescent moon: dotted border.

The name occurs neither in lists nor inscriptions, but is one still in common use among the people. This coin belongs to the period before the invasion from Ceylon and the subsequent introduction of the Ceylon type of coins. The forms of the letters on the obverse, it will be noted, are similar to those bearing date in the eleventh century. They correspond very nearly with those given in Burnell's South Indian Paleography, Pl. XVIII, and are clearly older than those in his Pl. XIX.

Fig. 3. *Obverse.*—Inscription in Tamil கலியுகராமன் Kaliyuga Rāman occupying the whole field; above, the same ornament as appears above the inscription in fig. 2.

Reverse. — Two foot-prints indicating the worship of Vishnu; above them the sun and moon, and to the right a letter or numeral indicating perhaps the year of the reign. Around all a border of dots.

Name unknown in inscriptions, lists, or tradition.

Fig. 4. *Obverse.*—Legend in Tamil கலியுகராம Kaliyuga Rāma, same as in fig. 3, above the sceptre and two fishes.

Reverse.—Ceylon-type of figure.

Fig. 5. *Obverse.*—Legend in Tamil குலசேகரன் Kulasēkaran above the conventional sceptre between two fishes.

Reverse.—Ceylon-type figure.

Kulasēkara's name is the first given in the Sthala Purāna list. It occurs also in the Vikramangalam inscriptions, where he is said to have ascended the Pāndyan throne about the year corresponding to A.D. 1200 and to have ruled about 13 years. The Ceylon type reverse seems to confirm the supposition that the Kulasēkara of this coin "must have been a successor of the king of the same name who was conquered and then restored by Parakrama."[2]

Fig. 6. *Obverse.*—A dwarfed sitting Singalese-Chola figure having before its face the Tamil legend சொகுலாமன் Sokulâman. Below the legend are too little fishes similar to those shown in fig. 1.

Reverse.—The conventional Ceylon figure.

Another name unknown to lists, inscriptions and tradition.[3]

Fig. 7. *Obverse.*—Legend in Tamil குலசேகரன் Kulasēkaran; above, a small figure probably the tutelary deity of the sovereign. This figure has on one side of it the ankusam, and on the other the chamara or switch of horse-tail used as an emblem of royal dignity.

Reverse.—Ceylon-figure.

This coin, as well as the one which follow, belong, doubtless, to the same Kulasēkaran referred to above in connection with fig. 5.

Fig. 8. *Obverse.*—The Tamil legend குலசேகர Kulasēkara above the conventional sceptre between two fishes.

Reverse.—Elephant to left within a border of heavy dots.

In another specimen which I have, nearly the whole of the body of the elephant appears, and above it is a legend in four letters, not Tamil, which I have not been able to read myself, nor have I been able to find any one who could aid me in so doing.

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[2] Sewell: "Dynasties," p. 82.

[3] This coin was alluded to, but neither described nor figured in Captain R. H. Campbell Tufnell's "Hints to Coin Collectors," in the last number of this Journal.

Fig. 9. *Obverse.*—Two fishes perpendicular; between them a sceptre of peculiar form, and above the sceptre, the moon. The legend in Tamil is in five letters peculiarly arranged. The first two letters are on opposite sides of the margin; then the third, fourth, and fifth letters follow the first in consecutive order around the margin, reading from left to right. The legend is விஸ்வநாத Visvanātha.

In the Government Central Museum is a specimen of this coin in which the order of the same letters is differently given. The coin is the first in which the Sanscrit form of S is used as if it had become a recognized Tamil letter.

Reverse.—Ceylon-man.

This Visvanātha was the first of the Nayak rulers of Madura (1559–1563). He took the country from his father Nāgama, who as the successful general of the Vijayanagar king had already subdued it, and himself proceeded to administer it with credit to himself and advantage to the country. Though entirely independent of Vijayanagar, he always owned a nominal allegiance to that sovereign. His reign is memorable as the period from which the modern architectural works which distinguish the city of Madura date.

Fig. 10. *Obverse.*—Two fishes perpendicular: between them a tall standard having probably some sacrificial significance.

Reverse.—A bull or dragon, having before it a sacrificial lamp from which flames are rising: above the lamp an indiscriminate object perhaps meant for another bull or dragon.

Probably refers to some threatened invasion or to some famous religious discussion or revolution.

Fig. 11. *Obverse.*—Recumbent bull upon a platform; above, the moon: and on either side tall standing lamps.

Reverse.—The same as obverse, except that two parallel fishes placed in opposite directions are substituted for the recumbent bull.

This coin and the one which precedes it are sharp in outline and vigorous in execution. They seem to me to belong to a period perhaps a century earlier than the Singalese invasion.

Fig. 12. *Obverse.*—Three fishes placed in a perpendicular position, with the moon above them.

Reverse.—Plain.

This coin, of which I have never seen a duplicate, must, I think, belong to an earlier period than the others figured on this series. With perhaps a single exception, it is the only Pāndyan coin upon which *three* fishes are figured.

Fig. 13. *Obverse.*—Two fishes and sceptre in upper part of field with bow to right and dagger to left: below, horse standing to left.

Reverse.—Ceylon type.

Fig. 14. *Obverse.*—Sitting Ceylon figure with a Tamil legend சுந்தர Sundara.

Reverse.—Ceylon type.

Fig. 15. *Obverse.*—One fish, horizontal, head to left: below, in two lines, the Tamil legend சுந்தரரா Sundarara (jah).

Reverse.—Ceylon type.

The last two coins belong doubtless to the same Sundara, who was otherwise known as Kún and who was probably the most eminent of the line.

Notes on Printing on Eastman's Bromide Paper.

(By J. A. D. LLOYD, Assoc.M.Inst.C.E.)

Thin delicate negatives full of detail are most suitable for printing on this paper; in fact such a negative as might be considered too thin for albumen paper, would be about right for gelatino bromide. The meta-bi-sulphite developer is eminently suitable for these negatives. It is made as follows:

A. { Pyro, 1 part,
Meta-bi-sulphite of potash, $\frac{1}{8}$ part,
Water fill up to 10 parts.

B. { Carbonate of potash, 1 part,
Meta-bi-sulphite of potash, $\frac{1}{2}$ part,
Water fill up to 10 parts.

Both solutions are 10 per cent., so that 10 minims may be said to contain one grain either of pyro or potash. For an Ilford ordinary plate each ounce of developer should contain 2 grains of pyro and 2 grains (to start with) of potash, the latter to be increased as required. No bromide is required, and no acid to preserve the pyro. Both solutions keep remarkably well. With this developer, and an exposure one-half longer than usual, a fine, delicate, negative, brimful of detail, can be secured. Such a negative looked at by transmitted light, reflected from a sheet of white paper (laid on the table), should show all gradations of density, and at the same time detail, even in the deepest shadows.

A Hinck's kerosine wall-lamp, with an one-inch wick, is as good a light to print by as any. Day light is too quick, and in consequence unmanageable. Remove the globe and reflector, if it has one, and keep the chimney only in place. The oil should be of the best, and during exposure it should burn at its brightest. Place the lamp on a table, and, at a distance of two measured feet, lay down a couple of books, so as to make a platform about 2 inches high for the printing frame to stand on. Spread a sheet of white paper between it and the lamp to reflect the light, and, when all is ready, turn the lamp down as low as possible. It will still give quite sufficient light whereby to load the printing frame, and be quite safe, especially if ones back is turned to it, or a screen intervened, whilst making the transfer of the sensitive sheets.

A negative, such as has been above described, having been put into the frame, and backed by a sheet of bromide paper is placed on the platform of books, and the light is turned up to its brightest. Now, looking at the negative by this light and in this position, the greater part of the picture will, to some extent, be discernible, owing to the negative being so thin; if so, try 30 seconds' exposure, or, if part only is visible, try 45, or even 60 seconds as the case may be. Time up, turn down the light, and remove the paper. At first one print only should be taken, until it has been seen by development whether or not the exposure has been correct. A book ruled for the purpose should be kept, showing the exposure given to each negative, not only for future reference, but also for comparing a negative about to be printed, with those of which the time of exposure has already been ascertained. After a short time it will be easy to tell at a glance what the necessary exposure should be. The distance of 2 feet is given as being a good medium one, and for no other special reason. It must, however, be borne in mind that the time of exposure increases or decreases according to the relative square of the distance. For instance, a dense negative that

would require 4 minutes' exposure at 2 feet distance from the light, would only take one minute at one foot, so that it would save time, and consequently be more convenient to print it at this distance. Again, an extra thin negative that would take 4 seconds' exposure at 2 feet distance would be more manageable, if given 16 seconds at 4 feet. On this principle a pleasing effect may often be given to an otherwise hard looking horizon, by placing the negative during exposure in a sloping position, so that the foreground, by being nearer to the light, gets more boldly printed than the distance.

The formulæ and instructions enclosed by the makers in each packet of this paper, should be carefully followed. Avoirdupois weight and wine measure being used in America, their one ounce contains 7,000 grains, and the quart 16 ounces. The quantities given are as near as possible—one part oxalate to three parts water, and one part iron sulphate to two parts water; or, what is the same thing practically, they are saturated solutions at 60° F. When making up the iron solution, the water should be acidulated *before* the iron is added, this will often correct any *slight* oxidation the crystals may have, and give a solution free from brown tinge. *Sulphuric* or citric acid seem to have a more marked effect this way than acetic acid. For landscape negatives, where contrast is wanted, the quantity of bromide should at least be doubled, but where contrast is already secured, as in buildings, rocky scenery, &c., the quantity recommended in the printed instructions will be ample; if ordinary acetic acid, *i.e.*, "*glacial*" at 30° F. is used, double the quantity must be given. Development must of course be done in non-actinic light. A kerosine hand chamber-lamp, or piano candlestick, with a jacket of two folds of golden fabric slipped over it, is as good a light as any. The paper is first immersed in a tray of clean water, care being taken that it is completely covered. This can be done either by pouring water on to any unwetted

portions, or by pressing it down with a clean feather. Whilst it is soaking, the developer may be mixed. Three-quarters of an ounce will, after a little practice, be found sufficient to develop a whole plate print. As soon as the paper has become limp, it may be transferred to the developing tray, but before lifting it, rinse and wipe the fingers. This is *most essential*, for the slightest trace of chemical causes black stains. A bowl of water, and a cloth should be placed handy for this purpose, and should be used each time before a print is fingered.

The paper having been laid in the developing dish, drain a few seconds, and then pour over it the developer. After a few seconds, the darkest shadows should begin to appear and then, to use the words of the instructions, the picture should come up *slowly*, *strong*, *clear*, and *brilliant*. Towards the end, the action of the developer increases greatly in rapidity, and continues its action even whilst the developer is being drained off, so that at this stage it must be very carefully watched. When about dark enough, pour off the developer, drain a few seconds, and then flood with the clearing solution, using just enough to well cover the print. An ounce will be about the right quantity for a whole plate print. Much, however, depends on the size of the dish, which should be a quarter of an inch only larger than the paper. Tin dishes are as good as any: with a coat or two of black Japan varnish they are quite safe even for developing negatives. After rocking half a minute, reverse the print; in another half minute pour off, and repeat the operation. This must be done three times, taking care that all minute air bubbles have disappeared, and that the paper is thoroughly flooded each time. The print can then be laid on a sheet of glass and thoroughly rinsed both sides under a tap, after which it can be put into the print washer until the whole batch are ready for fixing. During development, it will be seen whether or not the exposure has been correct: if the picture comes

out slowly and the development is completed within, say, two and-a-half minutes, it will have been about correct; if it comes out too slowly, the time will have to be increased; if, on the other hand, the picture by appearing too rapidly, gives indication of over exposure, the time must be decreased. Too rapid development can be at once checked by the addition of a dram of water. It will then proceed satisfactorily to the end. If a batch of, say, six prints have been printed off and are to be developed, half the developer used for the first print may, provided it has not been diluted, be poured away, and half fresh added for the next. In this way two and-a-half ounces of developer will be quite sufficient to develop six prints, this quantity having been mixed before development is commenced.

The prints will now be ready for fixing in the hypo. It is as well not to touch either the hypo bottle or dish until they are wanted, for the slightest trace of this chemical will stain the whole batch of prints. A convenient way of making up this bath is to fill up a bottle of the crystals with boiling water. It cools so quickly that there is no fear of breaking the bottle. After well shaking, nearly the whole will be dissolved. The liquid is then passed through a filter into a clean bottle, which is labelled "Hypo Sat. Sol." One ounce of this added to 4 ounces of common water will be the fixing bath (one to five), of which one ounce will safely fix one $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ print, but as it is best to cover them well, 12 ounces may be used at one fixing for six prints, and be used twice over for two batches, each of six prints. After this it will have become discolored, and exhausted, and may be thrown away. After the prints have been in the hypo 10 minutes, the yellow jacket of the lamp may be lifted off and they may be examined. By this time all the yellow bromide of silver should have been dissolved out, and the high lights appear pure white. After this, another 10 minutes in the hypo will be sufficient. They may then be taken out one by

one, well rinsed under a tap as described before, and put into the washing trough. Two hours in running water will be enough, provided they are not allowed to adhere to each other, and the water has ample play between them. As good a way to dry them as any is to hang them up by a corner to a cord by means of the ordinary wooden clips sold for the purpose, or by pin hooks. When the prints are dry, it greatly improves their appearance to press them between smooth card boards in a letter press, or if that is not available, to press them for a couple of hours in the printing frame. They can then be trimmed in the ordinary way with a 'cutting-shape' and sharp penknife on a piece of plate glass. Any defects may be touched up with a pencil.

One of the simplest and most effective washing troughs, which may be made by the bazaar tinman, is a circular pan 16 inches in diameter (or smaller for half plate-prints) with upright sides 4 inches high. The outlet is from a half-inch diameter hole in the side, at bottom, to which is soldered a tin pipe, running up outside to within an inch of the brim, where it ends in a short spout, so that the pan must be full to within an inch of the top, before the flow can commence, the water being drawn from the bottom. In fact it is like a syphon, only with the long leg cut off a little below the bend.

A hole about three-eighth of an inch diameter is made anywhere in the side of the pan one inch from the brim to admit a tin nozzle, the point of which has an opening of about one-sixteenth of an inch; the large end being of sufficient size to fit tightly into an India rubber tube, the other end of which is either attached to a tap, or is made to act as a syphon from a tub. The nozzle should enter the pan at an oblique angle; experience will soon show which is the best position. The prints will then revolve, allowing the flow of water to play freely between them. If any of these should catch the projecting nozzle, so much the better, the

detention will be for a few seconds only, and result in a "general post" or shuffling of the whole batch.

Addenda.

The ordinary groved tank "plate-washer" can also be used for washing prints most effectively. Plain glass plates, or what is still better diaphragms of galvanized wire netting (two-inch mesh) are placed in every other grove, and the prints to be washed are inserted between them.

This arrangement is better than the circular trough above described for the C quality paper, as the latter is apt to float on the surface, and in consequence, when several sheets are in the trough at one time, they often adhere to each other. They can be kept wholly immersed in this "plate-washer" by laying a strip of glass about one inch wide across the top of the diaphragms. When using a syphon plate-washer it is better if the syphon is not allowed to act. This can easily be prevented by making a minute air hole in the top of the bend of the syphon tube. A steady flow of water will then be secured, and the plates or prints will always be covered; with the syphon at work, they are a great portion of the time out of water.

Revised List of Antiquities in the Chicacole Taluq.

(By the Rev. J. R. HUTCHINSON.)

The Chicacole taluq is one of considerable interest from an archæological point of view. Here, of old time, was the seat of government of the Kalinga dynasty, one of the most ancient of India's kingdoms; here are still to be seen the remains of a fort, of which mention is made in the *Vishnu Purāṇa* and *Mahā Bhārata*, and here are some of the most curious of the ancient and rather infrequent rock cuttings of the plains.

The following list is prepared after a five years' acquaintance with the taluq (which is not large), and may be depended upon as accurate. The writer has in nearly every instance verified the description by personal examination. It does not, however, purport to be a *complete* list. Time will undoubtedly disclose many more objects of interest.

Andavaram.—Fifteen miles north-east of Chicacole. Inscription on stone slab near site of old Saiva temple; old Telugu character.

Árasavilli.—One mile east of Chicacole. Temple of *Sūrya Nārāyaṇa-mūrti*, fabled to have been founded by the God *Indra*; two inscriptions in old Telugu characters.

Balaga.—One mile north of Chicacole on east bank of river. A *math* dedicated to *Jagannāthasvāmi*, richly endowed, founded in A.D. 1693. For further information see Sewell's Lists.

Bhairi.—Eight miles north-east of Chicacole on right bank of *Vamsadhāra* river. Temple, two centuries old,

erected over three images, said to have been washed down in a flood; no known inscription.

Būravilli.—Eight-and-a-half miles north-east of Chicacole. A temple erected some 200 years ago by "Gajapati Mahārājah"; no known inscriptions.

Kalingapatam.—Situated at mouth of Vamsadhāra river. The supposed ancient capital (*Kalinganagara*) of the kingdom of *Kalinga;* remarkably barren of objects of antiquarian interest. It is said that the ancient city lies beneath the sea, and that masses of masonry are sometimes washed up by the waves; but this statement should be received with caution, as facts do not seem to bear it out. A low mound near the present town, now traversed by a high road and partly appropriated as a cemetery, is more probably the site of the ancient town. The country immediately surrounding this mound is low, and I am of opinion that the mound itself was at one time enclosed by an extensive moat. The mound is being rapidly dug away and used for road-making. In composition it is a mixture of fine fragments of bricks, tiles, and country pottery, bound together by a blackish soil, and remarkably free from stones of large size. Small gold coins, of two sizes, are found upon the surface of this mound after heavy rain, by which they are washed out. The smaller coins are very tiny, being no larger than a *chilly* seed. The larger ones are about twice this size. The writer has a number in his possession, two of which he has succeeded in identifying as coins of the Kalinga rajahs. They bear the seal of these kings, a *Nandi.* The other coins seem to be of various countries.

About three-quarters of a mile to the south-west of this mound is another of less circumference but greater height, called *Jagatti-meṭṭa,* apparently the site of an ancient temple, though no remains are now visible. I am inclined to think, from the conformation of the ground, that this second mound was at one time within the limits of the ancient town.

The "five stone images worshipped by Saivites and reputed to be of great age," mentioned by Sewell, stand in a field close by the larger mound. A small *Kōvila* has recently been built over two of them. Of the remaining three, one is a *Nandi*. The others are much defaced. Near by, deeply embedded in the earth, are two *lingas*. There is said to be another *linga* in a field near Chilagām. On the edge of the field, in which the above-mentioned images stand projecting into the village street, is a massive stone slab, the *pānavaṭṭa* or base of some ancient *linga*.

With the exception of two inscriptions, dating back to the time of the Mohammadan conquest of the country (A.D. 1402 or thereabout), nothing of the kind has as yet been discovered here. I should, perhaps, make a further exception of a huge fragment of stone in the compound of Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co.'s agency, which still retains a tantalizingly small portion of an inscription in old Telugu characters. The stone is much chipped and evidently of great age, but its secret is gone for ever.

Chicacole.—This town (*Śri Kākōla*) is said to have been the earliest capital of *Kalinga,* one of the oldest known kingdoms of India. The inhabitants are mentioned by Pliny. It is not known when the capital was transferred to Kalingapatam.

Some years ago six copper-plate grants were accidentally discovered here, one of which was afterwards lost. The other five afford almost the only information known concerning the Kalinga rajahs. The substance of these grants may be gleaned from Sewell's Lists. Sewell supposes these kings to belong to "a dynasty of (Pallava ?) fugitives of the Veṅgi family," who are supposed to have conquered *Kalinga* about the beginning of the seventh century. The writer has in his possession inscriptions which promise to throw considerable light upon this, together with other interesting questions connected with this period in the history of *Kalinga.*

Chicacole contains a large mosque built in A.D. 1641 by *Shir Mohammad Khan*, a sirdar of the Nizam, who resided at Kalingapatam, of materials from a Hindu temple, which he destroyed. This temple stood some 50 yards to the east of the present mosque, and was flanked by a tower at each of its four corners. The site of the temple and the foundations of the towers are still plainly visible. In the north-western corner of the mosque, as a foundation stone, is a portion of what was evidently a pillar of this temple. Upon it are three inscriptions, one imperfect through the breaking of the stone, the others entire and quite legible. They are in Sanskrit, in old Telugu characters, and have been translated by the writer.

In the bed of the Langūlia river, below the bridge, is a projecting surface of rock quite covered with rudely-sculptured *lingas*. It is called the *Kōṭilinga-rāyi*, though said to be lacking one of the number necessary to make up the full *crore*, by the possession of which Chicacole would have become Kāśī.

On what was formerly the site of the old fort (now the Canadian Mission compound) are a number of stones "said," according to Sewell, "to have been removed hither from the Sri Kūrmam temple." This opinion I regard as erroneous. The stones are evidently remains of a Hindu temple which once stood on the spot. Portions of the foundations of this temple have been unearthed within the compound, while a large part of it is still buried from view. The stones of this temple, which undoubtedly antedates the Mohammadan conquest of the country, have been used for various purposes. The temple of *Korṭa Anjancya-svāmi*, which stands near, and is of modern construction, was built over an image taken from this spot. It seems probable that the remains of the old temple were first used in the construction of the fort, and afterwards, together with the materials of the fort itself, in the erection of the above-named

temple and the river-wall of the present mission bungalow. Among the stones are a well-preserved *Ganesa*, several finely-executed friezes, one of which has upon it a much defaced inscription in old Telugu characters, and a great quantity of fragments of cut stone.

Dīrghāshi.—Four miles north of Kalingapatam; an inscription on a huge stone slab at the foot of a rocky hill, called *Durgametta*, in 23 lines, Sanskrit, old Telugu characters is important; " squeeze " taken and translated by the writer. On the north-west corner of the hill are the remains of a Saiva temple, the founding of which is recorded in the inscription; numerous remains of interest, comprising *lingas*, images, &c. A small stone image in a cave is still worshipped by the villagers as *Dūrga.* A portion of the square stone pillar on the site of the temple should be dug up and examined for inscriptions.

Dantavaktrūni-korṭa.—An ancient fort some four miles in circumference, twelve miles north of Chicacole, near the village of Mūlligavalasa; earthen embankment in good preservation, still from 30 to 40 feet high in parts. At one time surrounded by a moat. Fabled to be the fort of Dantavaktra, king of the Karushas, *Vishnu Purana*, iv. 14, v. 26; Wilson, vol. iv. 103, 104 (*Sewell's References*); *Bhagavatam*, *Uttarabhāga*, 492.

This interesting ruin is singularly bare of antiquarian remains. Two *lingas* are to be seen, one near and the other upon the north mound. Within the enclosure, near a mass of black rocks, is what seems to have been the site of a temple, but nothing is to be seen save a defaced *Nandi.* As the whole fort has been under cultivation for centuries, it seems probable that many stones have been removed or hidden by the earth. On the south-eastern side, beneath a fine *Ficus religiosa*, stands a huge image of *Kali*, in remarkably good preservation. The image faces the east and is half buried in the ground. The roots of the tree have wound them-

selves about the waist of the figure in a close embrace. The villagers call this image "the goddess of the fort," but make no *puja* to it. Near the site of the temple mentioned above is a projection of rocky surface, across which runs a thin vein of white stone. This is called the *Kūttū-rāyi*, or "sewed stone," the natives believing that when the fort was lost to the gods they placed their treasure in this rock and sewed it up.

Coins are being constantly found here, but I have seen none save a few defaced copper specimens. Gold coins are also found, but are difficult to obtain from the finders.

Some two miles east of the old fort, on the right bank of the Vamsadhāra river, stands the village of Pūrroshottapūram. There is an old Saiva temple here in which is an inscription in old Telugu characters. In a field near the temple stands a very fine *linga*, called *Kāmêsvara-svāmi*, and near by a group of rude stone images. Small gold coins similar to those found at Kalingapatam are obtained here.

About one mile north of the fort, on the west side of the high road, is an earthen mound of large size, called *Jagattipūtta.*

About a mile south of the old fort, and on the Chicacole road, is a low rocky hill, called *Pāndavūla-metta*, or "hill of the Pāndavas." On the surface of the rock forming the top of this hill are rock cuttings of a remarkable character and, apparently, great age. Numerous other hills in the vicinity have similar cuttings. Upon the hill mentioned above is also a cromlech of large size. At the eastern extremity of the hill is a small cave.

To the south of this hill, on the east of the high road, is a small earthen mound of unknown origin.

Gāra.—Twelve miles east of Chicacole. In the hamlet of Arānjipeṭa, east of the *Kōvila* of *Bhadra Kali*, is an inscription on a stone in old Telugu.

Ippili.—Five miles south-east of Chicacole. A *linga* in

the yard of the *Karanam's* house; near it is a stone upon which is an inscription.

Kallepalli.—Five miles south-east of Chicacole. A temple, some two centuries old, erected over a stone image of the serpent deity, *Maṇi Nāgesvara-svāmi*, fabled to have been placed there by Balarama.

Kōrlam.—Twelve miles east of Chicacole. Temple some three hundred years old, built over an image of *Vallabharāyasvāmi.* An inscription was found by writer upon a stone in the tank.

Krishnapuram.—Some ten miles north-east of Chicacole; a rocky hill, called *Dhānyarāsi-meṭta.* The summit of the hill has been made remarkably level by the splitting away of the surface layers of rock. There is nothing of interest save a semicircular mound of earth upon the hill, to which the natives apply the name *dhānya-rāsi*, or "paddy heap."

Korṭā Bommāli.—An inscribed stone to the east of the bazaar.

Peddapārdu.—Inscription upon a stone by the roadside in old Telugu characters.

Polāki.—Two miles north of Kalingapatam. The inscribed stone mentioned by Sewell has disappeared. In the tank are remains of huge stone images. In the village is a fine stone *Kōvila* to *Kali.* It has been struck by lightning, and is now deserted.

Rāgōlu.—Four miles north of Chicacole. Inscribed stone in a field 50 yards west of the village; inscription in old Telugu.

Rōṇānki.—Seven-and-a-half miles north-east of Chicacole. Inscribed stone on bank of river; old Telugu characters.

Sālihandam.—Twelve miles east of Chicacole, to the east of the hill of the same name. Remains of images buried in the earth; on one of these is visible a portion of an inscription in Dēvanagari characters.

Santa-Bommāli.—Fourteen-and-a-half miles north-east of Kalingapatam. Inscribed stone in the wall of a Saiva temple, in old Telugu characters. Four miles east of this place is an inscribed stone on a small hill, called *Śāsanālapāṭu-dibba.* North of this place, in the village of Tūngām, is an inscribed stone in a field; while to the east, in the village of Būragām, is another in a tank.

Singapūram.—Seven miles north-east of Chicacole. Saiva temple on a hill; two inscriptions on the pillars near the gateway; old Telugu characters.

Sewell states that " between this village and Rājammapeṭa are two great cairns, of which the history is unknown." The writer has made a careful examination of the vicinity, and has no hesitation in asserting that this statement is erroneous. No such cairns exist, and the only approach to them is a couple of rocky hills of natural formation.

Sri-kūrmam.—Eight miles east of Chicacole on the coast. An important temple, dedicated to *Sri Kūrmanaikaluswāmi*, the *Kūrmāvatāra* of Vishnu. This temple was formerly Saiva, but is said to have been transformed into a Vaishnava shrine by Ramanujachari. Reference to this is made in the Sanskrit work *Prapannāmriṭa*, *adhyāya* 36 (Sewell). There is a *Sthala-purāna* of some antiquity, but purely mythological. The place is a great resort of pilgrims in the month of March. There are numerous inscriptions on the pillars and walls of the temple, many of which have been translated at the instance of Government. The list may be seen in Mr. Robert Sewell's work.

Ūrajām.—Two miles north-east of Kalingapatam. Inscription in the back yard of a house near *Kōvila.* The stone was dug up some twenty years ago in the course of the construction of a mud wall. Inscription is in Dēvanāgari characters and in fine preservation. A perfect *fac simile* was obtained and sent to Madras for translation.

Hints to Coin-Collectors in Southern India.

Part II.

(By Captain R. H. CAMPBELL TUFNELL, M.S.C., F.Z.S.,
Member of the Numismatic Society of London.)

In the first part of this paper, I touched very briefly on the chief characteristics and distinguishing marks of those coins which have been struck by the indigenous races of Southern India. In the present part, I propose to treat, equally briefly, of those minted by foreign powers in this part of the peninsula, leaving, as before, more detailed accounts for future treatment.

Among these powers may be mentioned the Roman, Mahomedan, Portuguese, Danish, French, Dutch and English, to each of whose issues, in turn, I propose briefly to allude.

In treating of them, however, the first difficulty which presents itself is the question of distinguishing those coins which have been actually struck on the spot from those which have found their way to these parts in the course of trade, and especially difficult is this in the case of Roman issues. Though at first Egypt was the medium of trade between Rome and the Indies, we know that after the subjugation of that country by the imperial troops, a very considerable direct trade sprung up between the two countries, and in consequence of this, the Roman issues found in Southern India, the portion of the peninsula which boasted of the ports of Musiris and Barace, have hitherto been attributed to a European mintage, and supposed to have been conveyed, in

Roman ships, to be bartered here for the ivory and ebony[1] that adorned the boudoirs of the fair maids of Imperial Rome, and for the pepper and spices in which their hearts delighted. That such was the case with the large hordes of *aurei* that from time to time have been unearthed is more than probable, for from time immemorial the native of Southern India has loved to bury his riches in the ground, and the merchants who carried down their goods from the interior for sale to the Roman ships at Musiris, doubtless on their return home, made mother earth their banker. The perfect state of preservation, too, in which these coins have almost invariably been found precludes the possibility of their ever having been much in circulation. Most, indeed, are so perfect that from their appearance they seem to have come direct from the *Moneta* on the Capitoline Hill to the shores of India, merely to have been buried here and unearthed centuries after, to tell of the vast extent of the enterprise and power of the first European nation that ever meditated the conquest of this land. Such, however, cannot be said with equal certainty of the stamp of coin to which I now allude, and of the existence of which no record has, as far as I am aware, ever yet been made. These little copper pieces are found in and around Madura, and some years' hunting has proved to me beyond a doubt that they were at one period in pretty general use in that part. Hitherto they appear to have completely escaped the notice of collectors, and, consequently, no theory regarding the place of their mintage has been proposed. For the following reasons I incline to the opinion that they were struck on the spot and were not importations from Rome.

In the first place, during a recent visit to Madura and the surrounding villages in quest of specimens, I came across no less than seven of these coins, Roman beyond any doubt, but of a type which appears to me to be totally distinct from that

[1] "Sola India nigrum
Fert ebenum"—*Virgil.*

found in Europe. These specimens were scattered over several parcels that I examined, and were not all together in one or two, as is usually the case when a number of issues have been dug up together. Nor was this by any means a solitary instance, for I have rarely paid a coin hunting visit to these parts without meeting with more or less specimens, and other collectors tell me that their experience has been the same. Moreover, they are not the kind of money that one would expect the rich Roman merchant to bring in payment for the luxuries of the East, but small insignificant copper coins, scarce the size of a quarter of a farthing and closely resembling the early issues of the native mints. Then, again, though as I have said, large hordes of aurei [2] have from time to time been discovered, and solitary specimens of course ever and anon occur, I have never yet heard of the discovery in Southern India of any of those fine copper coins (known as 1st and 2nd brass) so plentifully found among the Roman remains exhumed in various parts of Europe, and of all the specimens I have myself met with not one has borne the faintest resemblance to them. Nor is this all. While aurei have been discovered in various parts, and on one occasion a large number of the denarii of Tiberius and Augustus together, the stamp of coin I now refer to occurs, as far as I can learn, in and around Madura *alone*, and this surely points to the probability of the existence at one time of a Roman settlement at or near that place. And after all, what more natural than that, as trade increased and Eastern luxuries became more and more popular with the fair dames of Rome, small settlements of agents should be established to collect on the spot the produce of the country, and convey it to the ships of their employers on their periodical visits to the ports

[2] In 1851 a find of these coins was made near Cannanore on the Malabar coast, a description of which appeared in the J.A.S.B of that year. It is said that no less than five cooly loads were discovered on that occasion. some few of which are I believe, still in the possession H. H. the Maharajah of Travancore.

of call. True no traces of those fine Roman buildings one sees and admires so much in Europe have been discovered, but could one expect to find, in a small community of mercantile agents, settled for a short period in the heart of a foreign and uncivilized nation, any evidence of their existence that would last as many centuries as have rolled by since Roman merchants traded in the East, unless it be such coins as I describe, struck specially for the purposes of trade with a pauper population? Looking then to the facts that all the coins of this series are well worn as though they had been in regular circulation, that they are of a type differing from those usual to the Imperial mints, that they are of so small a value as to be what one would expect to find in use when dealing with a people as poor as the early Hindus, that they are found almost exclusively in one locality, that they are *constantly* being found and not occurring in a glut at intermittent periods,—surely all these arguments point to the possible, if not indeed the probable, truth of the theory that they were of local mintage.

On the obverse of all that I have met with appears an emperor's head, but so worn that with one or two exceptions the features are well nigh obliterated. In one or two specimens a faint trace of an inscription appears running round the obverse, but hitherto I have not come across a single specimen in which more than one or two letters are distinguishable. The reverses vary considerably, but the commonest type seems to bear the figures of three Roman soldiers standing and holding spears in their hands. Another bears a rectangular figure somewhat resembling a complete form of the design on the reverse of the Buddhist square coins found in the same locality, while most are too worn to allow of even a suggestion as to what their original design was intended to represent. On one specimen the few decipherable letters appear to form part of the name Theodosius, and the style of coin points to the probability of its having been issued during the decline of the Roman Empire, possibly after the capital had

been transferred to Constantinople. Another specimen in gold that I have seen now in the collection of the Rev. James E. Tracy of Tirumangalam, closely resembles on the reverse an issue in the British Museum of Leo III, who ruled the Eastern Empire at the commencement of the eighth century. It is to be hoped that ere long further investigation may reveal specimens in better preservation, from which some decision can be arrived at on what at present can be little more than conjecture.[3]

To pass from the period when the money of Rome was in circulation to the time when the Pathan rulers held sway seems a somewhat excessive bound. Yet, as far as I am aware, during this interval, no money locally struck in a foreign name found currency here, though one occasionally comes across a Persian tomân which circulated in Mysore, or a specimen of "hook money" or *larin*,[4] minted probably on the shores of the Persian Gulf and conveyed hither in the course of trade, or as some suppose struck in the Maldives. Both place of mintage and date of these strange pieces of money seem lost in obscurity. Usually they occur in the shape, as their name implies, of a fish-hook, and are formed of two pieces of silver wire welded together and doubled round into this shape. A rarer form is perfectly straight. "Fishhook" larins are found in larger numbers in Ceylon than in Southern India, but are of considerable rarity in both localities.

To pass now to the times of the Pathans and Moghals The earliest issues of these found in any quantities in Southern

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[3] Finds of similar coins have also been made at Anarádhapara and Colombo recently.

[4] François Pyrard, a Frenchman, who from 1602 to 1607 was a captive in the Maldives, thus writes: "Aux Maldives on ne fait que des larins . . . .
" . . . . des pièces d'argent qu'ils appellent larins de valeur de huist
" sols on ennuiron de notre monnoye, comme j'ai desia dit, longues comme
" le doigt mais redoublées. Le roi les fait battre en son isle et y imprimer
" son nom en lettres arabesques."

India date back to the time when Mahomed bin Taghlak ruled the destinies of Delhi, about the middle of the eighth century of the Hijrah era (A.D. 1324–51). This king, the nineteenth of his dynasty, at once "the most eloquent and accomplished" and the most cruel and merciless prince of his race or time, extended his conquests in every direction and eventually incorporated in the kingdom of Delhi nearly the whole of the southernmost parts of India, and even at one time meditated the conquest of China. Over each portion of the more distant parts of his enlarged dominions separate rulers were set, the most southerly of all, that of Malabar falling to the lot of Áhsan Shah (احسن شاه), the father-in-law of the famous traveller Ibn Batutah; while in the appointment of Hussain Gango was laid the foundation of the Bahmani dynasty of the Dekhan, whose line extended well into the sixteenth century of the Christian era. So extensive became the kingdom of Delhi at this time and so distant from the seat of the supreme government its outlying provinces, that the governors, over whom merely a nominal sovereignty could be exercised, soon cast off even the semblance of allegiance to their royal master and promptly undertook, what to the Mahomedan mind represents the first act of an independent ruler, the issue of coins in their own name. At the same time Mahomed bin Taghlak, undeterred by the fate of his Persian predecessor Kai Khatú Khan, introduced a "forced" currency, in which copper tankahs were made to pass current for silver coins of identical weight. The introduction of this system rendered Mahomed bin Taghlak so unpopular as to encourage each discontented sirdar in provincial charge to raise the standard of revolt.[5]

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[5] Ferishtah's narrative of the issue of this currency has been thus translated:—

"The Sultan's means did not suffice to satisfy his desires; to gain his ends, therefore, he created a copper currency, ordering coins of that metal to be struck in his mint after the manner of gold and silver; he then ordained that this copper money should pass current as gold and silver, and so should

Of the Bahmani issues so few specimens occur in the south that the collector is not likely to come across any. They are generally thicker than those common to the Delhi and other Pathan mints, and usually have the word بهمنی after the ruler's name. Such, however, is far from being the case with the contemporary coins in the more southerly province. Coins of Áhsan Shah frequently occur, and he was followed by a line of rulers, all of whom appear to have issued money in their own names. For two reasons, however, I defer all notice of these for the present and propose to devote a separate paper to their consideration; firstly, because I am in hopes that, before it appears, the series of these rare and hitherto unnoticed coins may be rendered far more complete than at present; and secondly because though hitherto unpublished they are of the greatest interest alike to the historian and numismatist, and, consequently, deserve a far more exhaustive treatment than could be here afforded them. At

Pl. III, No. 35.

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be used in all commercial transactions. The Hindus brought large quantities of copper to the mint and had it coined, and so made for themselves enormous profits; and purchasing goods and exporting them to other countries received in exchange gold and silver money. Goldsmiths also manufactured coins in their own houses and passed them in the bazaars. After some time things came to such a pass that at distant places the Sultan's edict was not observed and the people took the king's coins only at their intrinsic value in copper, and speculators brought them thence to those parts of the country where the order remained in force and there exchanged them for gold and silver. In this way the copper currency became by degrees so redundant that, all at once, it utterly lost credit and was regarded as mere rubbish, while gold and silver became even more precious than before and commerce was entirely deranged. When the Sultan saw that his measure had failed, and that he could not, even by punishment, bring the whole population to obedience, he issued a decree ordaining that every one who had a royal coin might bring it to the treasury and receive in exchange a gold or silver coin of the old stamp. He thought by this means to restore his copper currency to credit, so that it might again be accepted in exchanges; but the copper money which had been accumulating in people's houses and been thrown on one side as worthless was immediately collected and brought to the treasury to be exchanged for gold and silver coin; and the copper tokens still remained as little current as before, while all the royal treasuries were emptied and general financial ruin fell upon the whole kingdom."

first Âhsan Shah appears to have retained in use the issues of the Delhi mint, but soon there appears a stamp of coin apparently not met with in the north. This medal bears on one side the name of the king محمد بن تغلق شاه and on the reverse العادل العاظم. In make and general appearance this issue follows the characteristics usual to the small copper and billon issues of the Delhi and other Pathan mints, but differs therefrom in some minor particulars. His "forced" tankahs are also frequently met with still. These thick brass coins, weighing approximately 140 grains, bear on the obverse بنده اميدوار محمد تغلق مهر شد تنگه رائج روزگار (struck as a legal "tanka" by the hopeful slave Mahomed Taghlak), and on the reverse round the margin the name of the mint town and year of date, and in the centre من اطاع السلطان فقد اطاع الرحمن ("who obeys the king obeys the Merciful one"). The commonest date on these coins is 730, though a few have 731 and fewer still 732, a fact which, as Thomas points out, affords strong proof of the rapidly increasing unpopularity of the scheme. How complete was the success of Âhsan's revolt and the consequent severance of the provinces over which he ruled from the court of Delhi is evidenced by the fact that no issues of later Pathans occur in the south, while the rebel coinage, as we shall see hereafter, is continued through a long succession of rulers.

Pl. III, No. 36.

Nor do we find issues in any number of other Mahomedan princes (the Mysore usurpers of course excepted) till we come to the times of the later Moghals. A few stray issues naturally occur as one would expect when we remember that swarms of Hindu pilgrims from the north yearly flock to the temples of Tripati or Conjeveram or the sacred shrine of Ramesweram, there to present as money offerings any coins they may have in their possession, brought hither from the countries whence they came, and of no other use to them here. To attempt to touch on these, however, would

of course lead one on into a consideration of the whole monetary system of India and be far beyond the scope of any single paper.

The Moghals in their monetary dealings with the south appear to have followed, in point of size and weight, the Hindu system of pagoda and fanam, and issues of Mahomed Shah (A.D. 1719)[6] and Alemgir II (A.D. 1754) occur of the former type and fanams of both these as well as of Ahmad Shah and Shah 'Alum. Other names also appear on fanams, notably that of Sikandar, these coins having on the reverse the date 1087 (Hijrah), while others bear the name of a southern mint town, as for instance, those of Mahomed Shah struck at Bálápúr in the Mysore country.

Pl. III, No. 37.

Before leaving the subject of the Mahomedan coins of the south, I must briefly allude to those of the Nawábs of the Karnatik. The gold coins of this dynasty have been noticed by Sir Walter Elliot in his contribution to the International Numismata Orientalia. He there says: "The *húns* of Sa'adut Ulla Khán, who succeeded Nawáb Dáwad Khán and died in 1731, are recognised by the Persian letters الله (illah) on the granulated surface, which is replaced on those of his relative Safdar 'Ali Khán by the letter ع. On his murder in 1741, the office of Nawáb was conferred by the Nizám on another family, that of Anwar-ud-dín Khán, but his son Muhammad 'Ali received his investiture direct from Delhi, with the high-sounding title of Walaját Nawáb-ul-Hind in 1766." He also figures three gold coins, two of which follow the type of the Chendragheri pagoda[7] and bear on the granulated surface, the one an ع and the other the

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[6] *Conf*, "The Pagoda or Varaha Coins of Southern India," (Nos. 25 and 26) by Surgeon-Major G. Bidie, M.B., C.I.E.—*Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1883.

[7] Marsden, pl 48, No. 1083. Bidie, No. 19.

abbreviation والا (wálá), while the third, retaining the latter inscription, has a rude figure of Hanuman on the reverse. There can, of course, be no doubt but that the two latter coins are issues of Mahomed 'Ali, and I cannot but think that the first also should more properly be attributed to him, than be assigned, as it is by Sir Walter Elliot, to his predecessor Safdar 'Ali Khán. The ع would certainly not help us to fix it, as it is the initial of the names of both, but whereas we have specimens in copper still retaining the ع, and bearing with it the word "Wálájah," we do not, as far as I am aware, meet with coins bearing his predecessor's name in the same conjunction, and hence I think there is a good show of reason for placing it in the long reign of Mahomed 'Ali. No notice has, as far as I can learn, been hitherto taken of the copper issues of this king, though there exists a long series of them, and one of considerable interest as showing the tendency of coins inscribed with legends in a foreign language to become debased and assimilated to the issues of the surrounding country. The copper coins struck in the capital, Arcot, are in three sizes and are as well executed as those of the contemporaneous Moghals. On one side they bear the word والا with Hejrah date below, and on the other ضرب اركاٹ جلوس (struck at Arcot, year of the reign). Those apparently struck in the outlying provinces, however, are of far ruder make, and resemble the small Hindu copper issues, while the formation of the letters, as well as the form of the coin, varies very considerably. One type of these consists of thin flat coins, having on one side (which is usually slightly concave) the word والا in a rectangle and on the reverse جاه in a ring of dots; another is a thick coin having the whole title والاجاه (Wálájáh) on one side with نواب (Nawáb) below and the date on the other, while another of the same type has the والاجاه on one side and the نواب on the other, surmounted by the date. A third type again has the title written and this at the hands of

the Hindu mintmen degenerated into a mere design , a parody on the Persian numerals adorning the reverse.[8]

A still more Hinduized edition retains a fair copy of the والاجاه, but with a sceptre supported by the sun and moon on the reverse. In the same way we find some issues in which the ع, to which I have alluded above, is reversed, while the imitation of a date appears below, the reverse being occupied by the cross lines so common on the early Hindu issues and to which I alluded when speaking of their coins. Passing from these we find a coin, possibly struck by the officers of the Nawáb, bearing on one side the والاجاه, somewhat debased, but with a perversion on the reverse of the Tamil ந (n), the letter being written , the converse possibly of what I have already described,—a rough attempt of a Mahomedan or other non-Tamil chief at striking a coin bearing the initial of the Nawáb's title in a foreign language. Others again are by no means uncommon which bear on one side the initial ந properly formed and on the reverse a fish or bird or beast, such as occurs on many coins of the Hindus, and especially on those of Mysore prior to the Mahomedan usurpation, while others have a lingam on a bull's back. On several occasions and in different places natives have assured me that this ந stands for the first letter of Nawáb, and regarding it in connection with the sequence I have tried to follow out above, I think there is fair reason to accept it. It may possibly even have gone further and have been the prototype of a series of coins bearing on one side Hindu figures and on the reverse a design , which I cannot otherwise explain.

We must now pass to a short consideration of the types of European coins minted in Southern India, far the most numerous of which, with the exception of those of the English (to be afterwards considered), were struck by the Portuguese. An instructive little handbook (in four fasciculi) of these

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[8] See appendix.

coins was published in Bombay in 1883 by Dr. Gerson da Cunha, but this is now out of print and no longer procurable, except by chance. In this interesting little work the following is given as the extent of the Portuguese power in India when at its height.

"When their star was in the ascendant, and consequently they, in the zenith of their energy and vitality, the Portuguese held dominion over the eastern coast of Africa, the Persian Gulf, the Malabar Coast, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula to the confines of China. The *quinas* then floated over the following fortified towns: Ormus, Diu, Damão, Goa, Bassein, Chaul, Hanowar, Mangalore, Cannanore, Cranganore, Cochin, Calaiate, Colombo, Malacca, Ternate, Tidore, Amboina, Macao, Solor and Timor. Out of these towns, eight had established in them mints which issued money more or less regularly in gold, silver, copper, and tutenag, but two of them in the last two metals only, until the forcible abolition through their capture by the Dutch. The following were the mint marks of six of these towns:—

B	Bassein.
C—Lo	Ceylon.[9]
D	Damão.
D, or D—O	Diu.
G, or G—A	Goa.
M, or M—A	Malacca.

"No mark of the Chaul and Cochin mints has yet been made out, although the *Archivo Portuguez Oriental* contains authentic documents relating to their foundation and their operations, besides preserving for posterity interesting decrees and proclamations, referring to various coinages and changes in the value of money."

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[9] Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., to whom I am greatly indebted for information regarding the coins of the Dutch in Ceylon in the following pages, informs me that Rhys Davids (loc: cit:, p. 36) is in error in asserting that "no coins are known to have been struck by the Portuguese in or for Ceylon." Mr. Bell's cabinet contains two bearing the Ceylon mint mark (C—Lo).

Of the issues of these mint towns by far the commonest met with are naturally those struck at Goa, which from almost the first appearance of the Portuguese in this country has been the capital of their possessions (commonly known as "India-Portugueza"). As far back as the commencement of the sixteenth century, we find the Portuguese settled in Cochin, but with an eye on Goa as the object of their ambition. This town was at that time under the suzerainty of the kings of Bijapur, but no sooner did the great Alfonso de Albuquerque arrive to assume the governorship of the Portuguese Indies than he decided to seize it, and on the 10th February 1510, entering the harbour with his fleet and surprising the garrison, he made himself master of the town. Hearing shortly afterwards of the temporary absence of the governor, the King of Bijapur retook it and garrisoned it with a strong force of Mahomedans. These, however, held it but for a short time, for on Albuquerque's return in the following November he recovered it and it has remained the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India ever since. No better governor of a newly annexed dependency could probably have been found than Albuquerque, for he at once set to work to enlarge and fortify the place, "he established laws and tribunals, encouraged commerce, favoured marriages between the European settlers and the natives, and caused a mint to be erected and money to be coined in the name of Emmanuel, King of Portugal." From this time for upwards of a century the story of the Portuguese in India is one of gradually increasing power, while in like ratio the capital grew in importance, till in 1557 we find it raised to the dignity of an archbishopric. At the commencement of the seventeenth century the records are said to prove that in the city alone there were no less than 150,000 persons professing the Christian religion. Meanwhile, however, another power had been growing in the East in the Dutch, who in 1603 blockaded Goa, but failed to take it. At the same time, by

withdrawing a large share of the trade which the Portuguese had hitherto enjoyed, they considerably weakened their position, and from this time dates the commencement of the wane of their power. Within the next forty years Ceylon, Malacca and the Moluccas were lost, and so rapid was their fall that Tavernier tells us that when he visited the locality in 1648 many of the inhabitants, who on the occasion of his first visit (1642) boasted of incomes of 2,000 crowns, were beggars when he went the second time. Henceforward little by little, point after point, was lost, the Dutch and English gradually increasing in power at the expense of the Portuguese, and then the latter by degrees driving out the former till by the middle of the eighteenth century the only mint towns left to Portugal were Goa and Diu. Of these, the latter continued operations till 1864 and the former till the signing of the monetary convention of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty on the 18th of March 1880. By this convention the former coinage of the Portuguese in India became obsolete and the English rupee and anna system was made the only legal tender throughout the Portuguese territories. All their coins were to be struck by the authority of the Government of Portuguese India, but were to be coined on their behalf by the Government of British India and by no other agency. The series consists of rupees, half rupees, quarter rupees, and one-eighth rupee in silver, each bearing on one side the effigy of the King of Portugal with the legend *Ludovicus I, Portugaliæ et Algarbiorum Rex,* or such other effigy and legend as the government may from time to time desire, and on the other side the value of the coin, the year of the Christian era, and the words *India Portugueza.* The copper coins are similarly stamped, and of the value of *half tanga*, *quarter tanga*, *eighth tanga* and *real*, corresponding, respectively, to the half anna, pice, half pice, and pie of the British system.

To turn now to the issues in use prior to the signing of convention, we find a vast number of coins struck in gold,

silver, copper, and tutenag,[10] a new stamp usually marking the rule of each successive governor. These coins generally bear on one side the coat of arms of Portugal, so frequently seen over the entrance porches of the Goanese churches in St. Thomé and elsewhere, surmounted by a crown and having in the field one or more of the letters mentioned above, indicative of the place of mintage. The gold coins I have seen bear on the obverse this design and on the reverse usually the cross of the order of Christ or of St. Thomas,

Pl. III, No. 38.

with the value in the two upper corners, and year of mintage in the two lower. The later silver coins (Rupias and Pardaos) usually bear the same coat of arms and mint mark, but on the reverse the

Pl. III, No. 39.

head of the reigning monarch with the value of the coin, while the earlier issues follow the same type as the gold. A few early issues, and in one or two instances later ones also, bear the cross, while some few of very recent mintage have on one side the effigy of the king surrounded by the usual inscription, and on the other the words RUPIA GOA or merely RUPIA in a

Pl. III, Nos. 40, 41.

wreath of leaves. The copper coins (of which I figure two as fairly characteristic of the series, viz., a tanga of D. Pedro V and a piece of 15 reis of the same king) are so multitudinous in number and in form of design that even in a far more extensive paper than the present it would be hopeless to attempt to describe them at all in detail, nor is such my object here, but rather to call attention to the more prominent marks on the common coins, so as to assist the tyro in their identification, and where possible to point out those authorities from which more detailed accounts can be obtained. As in the coins in the more precious metals, the coat of arms of the country usually finds a place on one side of the copper issues and on the other sometimes a cross with the numerals

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[10] A base metal said to correspond with the "gong" metal of China.

of the date in the four corners, and occasionally St. Catherine's [11] wheel, while in the more modern issues the value of the piece appears (Nos. 40 and 41).

It is worthy of note that in no instance do the Indo-Portuguese coins bear any inscription or word in a native language, a custom followed, as we shall presently see, by every other nation more or less (except the Danes), who struck money for circulation in India. It will be observed further that a large number of Portuguese coins, especially those in the baser metals, bear initial letters or abbreviations which cannot fail to be somewhat perplexing to the beginner. I have already given those which stand for the mint towns and now append a list of other abbreviations of common occurrence, taken chiefly from the readings of Dr. da Cunha.

A.P. or AP	Portuguese Asia.
R.P. or P.R.	Portugaliæ Rex.
P. ET. AR.	Portugaliæ et Algarbiorum Rex.
F. II	Filippe II.
I. V	João V.
I. H. S. V.	"In hoc signo vinces."
BCCO.	Bazarucco.
S. TOME	St. Thomé (a coin worth four rupees).
X. or x	Xerafin (a coin of 300 reis).
M. T.	Meia Tanga.
T. or T. T.	One Tanga.
Numeral alone	The value of the coin in reis.

[11] "As it was on the 25th of November 1510 when it ('Goa') became "subjected for the second time to the Portuguese sway, and as that day is "dedicated in the Roman calendar to the memory of the celebrated virgin and "martyr of Alexandria, St. Catherine, she was chosen for the patroness of the "city; a church or rather a chapel was immediately raised in her honor, which "still exists, and in which every year her festival and the anniversary of the "victory of the Portuguese are celebrated with the greatest solemnity by the "Franciscan friars."—(deKloguen's "Historical Sketch of Goa.")

The following are the relative values of the various Portuguese coins that have found currency in India :—

30 Reis	=	1 Meia Tanga.
60 Reis	=	1 Tanga.
$2\frac{1}{2}$ Tangas	=	1 Meia Pardao.
2 Meia Pardaos	=	1 Pardao.
2 Pardaos	=	1 Rupia.

In addition to the coins I have already mentioned, the Venetian sequin (the Sánár-kásu of the natives) was also current in Goa and the neighbouring parts. This thin gold coin (Pl. III, No. 42) is still found in considerable numbers in the south, though not in great variety, the only names of Doges as yet recorded being those of Paul Rayner, Pat Grimani, Joan Cornei, Aloi Mocen, and Ludovic Manin. This coin is almost exactly similar to one struck by the Roman Senate in the twelfth century and now in the British Museum, which is thus described: obv. "S. PETRUS SENATOR VRBIS" St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling senator; rev. "ROMA CAPUT MUNDI, S. P. Q. R." the Saviour in aureola, holding a book." In weight they vary from 51 to 55 grains. Exactly similar pieces also occur in copper; but I question whether they are coins at all, it being more probable that they are merely imitations struck as ornaments to be worn by native women: for the gold coins, of which they are faithful copies, are held in some veneration by the natives of the south, who have connected some curiously interesting legends with them.

Pl. III, No. 42.

The issues of the Danish mint at Tranquebar are also fairly common, and consist chiefly of four-cash pieces in copper and far more rarely of ten cash in silver and copper. All bear on one side the initial or monogram of the reigning monarch and on the other in the earlier coins the monogram of the Company as shown in Pl. III, No. 43, with two figures of the date on either side, and in the later issues

"X" or "IV KAS"[12] as the case might be, with the date below (Pl. III, No. 44), the change taking place about the commencement of the present century, when for a time Tranquebar ceased to be in Danish hands. It was, however, restored in 1814, and from that date the new reverse may very probably have been brought into use. The coins most commonly met with are those of Christian VI, Christian VII, and Frederic VI, the latest specimen in my collection bearing date 1843, only two years after which the English purchased Tranquebar, Serampore and Porto Novo, and the Danish power, whose missionaries had been among the first to labour among the Natives of Southern India, ceased to exist in the Peninsula.

Pl. III, Nos. 43, 44.

A little further to the north again we find considerable numbers of the issues of the French mint of Pondicherry, or as it was usually called Púdúchéri. As early as 1604 a French East India Company had been started, and this was succeeded by several others, all the surviving ones of which, together with those of Senegal, the West Indies, and China, were united in 1719. When we consider how extensive were the operations of the French forces in Southern India, and how wide the extent of country over which those operations were carried out, we cannot fail to be surprised at the small number of varieties of French coins struck in India. While the plodding merchants of the English East India Company were trading, building factories, and carrying out extensive mercantile transactions with the natives, leaving to their armies the defence of their rights and the extension of their territorial power, France on the other hand seems to have concentrated her whole energy in the operations of her forces, and to have paid com-

[12] Since the above appeared in type the Rev. J. E. Tracy has sent me two new varieties of Tranquebar coins which I have figured as Nos. 66 and 67 (Plate IV), and I have also been able to add to my own collection a silver issue weighing 35 grains with Frederic VI's monogram on one side and on the other 2, FANO. 1816.

paratively little attention to the more peaceful avocations of her Company. Hence, while we find a large variety of issues of the English mints set up in various places as they fell under her power, and once even in Pondicherry (?), the French capital itself, during a temporary occupation, we find the coins struck by the French to have been comparatively few in number and meagre in variety of design. All appear to have borne on the obverse either the cock or fleur-de-lis, and on the reverse either the date, the word புதுச்சேரி, or a design somewhat resembling that found on the coins of Travancore. The silver coins occur in two sizes, the one weighing approximately 65 grains, the other about 23. These bear either the cock or several fleurs-de-lis on the obverse and on the reverse the design I have already alluded to, though what it is intended to represent I have never been able to ascertain. The earlier copper issues are of thick copper and bear on one side the date only and on the other usually five fleurs-de-lis. The latter are in two sizes, the largest of which is represented in No. 47, and bear either the cock or a single fleur-de-lis, and on the reverse the mint town புதுச்சேரி (Púdúchéri) in Tamil. The next smaller size exactly corresponds with the fleur-de-lis type just described, and weighs about 30 grains, while the smallest of all bears the unintelligible sign on one side and the name of the usual mint town on the other. This same design may also have been used by the Dutch, as we find one series of coins with it on one side and on the other the mint town நாகப்பட்டணம் (Negapatam). Owing to the want of official records on the subject, it is in some instances well nigh impossible to know to what mint or to what nation to apply some of these small copper pieces. Two such I figure as Nos. 48 and 49. The former of these bears on one side plainly enough the word புதுச்சேரி, but, as is often the case, only one or two letters of the name on the reverse are complete. It may not impro-

Pl. III, Nos. 45, 46.

Pl. III, No. 47.

Pl. IV, Nos. 48, 49.

bably read Nágappattanam (Negapatam), but this would hardly help us to decide to what power to assign it. The French, as far as we know, never held Negapatam, though on the other hand history proves that in 1693 the Dutch were masters of both places, and held them till the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick.[13] It may be that during this period the coin I now figure was struck, though it must be confessed that its appearance and state of preservation go far to contradict this theory. The other coin to which I allude (No. 49) bears on one side the word ஸ்ரீ (Śrî) "holy" and on the reverse கம்பனி (Kampani, Tam.) and may not improbably be one of the wretched little pieces which disgraced the English mints in India at the commencement of this or latter part of the last century.

Before passing on to speak of the issues struck at different times by the English in India, we must glance hurriedly at those of the Dutch, whose power at one time was very considerable in the southern portions of the Peninsula.

The chief operations of their East India Company were of course carried out in the island of Ceylon, but the number of their coins still found in the adjacent portions of the main-land plainly enough prove how considerable were their dealings with it, while the inscriptions on some show that they were actually struck here. From the time of their first appearance in Indian waters, the chief aim and object of the Dutch appears to have been to become masters of Ceylon. At the very commencement of the seventeenth century, partly by alliances with the Sinhalese, partly by the constant warfare that they waged with the Portuguese who had already taken and fortified the capital Colombo, they left no means untried to gain their end. It was not, however, till the middle of that century, when a Sinhalese army completely routed the Portuguese forces, that they obtained a firm foot-hold in the island.

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[13] *Conf.* "Revue Belge de Numismatique," année 1887.

This victory, coupled with their alliance with the victors, turned the tables in their favor, and from this time we find their power steadily increasing, till their final conquest of the Portuguese in 1656 made them complete masters of Ceylon, the natives (to whose coinage I alluded in the first part) thenceforward sinking into utter nonentities, a position which they have ably maintained ever since.

The early issues of the Dutch were of intensely coarse make, without definite shape and of the rudest possible design. No. 50 is a fair specimen of their earlier productions. This series consisted of 2, 1, ½, ¼ and ⅛ stiver pieces. They were stamped with the value of the coin, the initials ST. (the T or both letters inverted) being used as an abbreviation for the full word stiver (or as it was then spelt *stuiver*). This style of coin was succeeded by one bearing the monogram of the Company, formed by the three letters V.O.C. (Vereinigte Ostindische Compagnie) in which the O and the C are superscribed each on one side line of the V. This monogram will very soon become a familiar sight to the coin collector in the south, from the fact of its almost invariably occurring on the small thin copper issues, a quarter stiver in value, known as "duits," or "challis," which are still met with in great quantities both in Ceylon and all over the extreme south of India (Pl. IV. No. 51); indeed, according to Sir Walter Elliot, "the copper money now current in Cochin consists entirely" of them. The V. O. C. half stiver of 1644, struck at Batavia, is also occasionally met with in Ceylon. It is a thin coin about the size of a "challi," having the "½ ST" above the monogram, and on the reverse the field occupied by a sword around which runs the inscription "BATAVIA ANNO 1644."

Pl. IV, No. 50.

Pl. IV, No. 51.

Under the monogram invariably appears the year of issue, and from the list given in *De Munten van Nederlandsch Indie* of Messrs. Netscher and Vander Chijs, these appear to range from 1726 to 1798. The side bearing the monogram is

always the same, with the exception of the mint mark (a star or other small device) which surmounts it, and of course the year of mintage; but on the reverse the coats-of-arms vary considerably. In those of Holland we find the whole shield occupied by a lion rampant facing left; for Zeeland a demi-lion rampant alone appears and beneath it three waving lines, representing the sea, sometimes on a plain field, at others having the legend "Luctor et emergo" circumscribed. Another series, that of Gelderland, with the usual monogram obverse, bears two rampant lions facing one another (combatant?) within a divided shield, the inscription around these being "In Deo est spes nostra," a motto which also occurs around the ship on some specimens of the silver "6-stiver" pieces. The Utrecht series again extending from 1744 to 1794 has a plain divided shield supported by a lion rampant on either side, while that of Friseland, with dates varying from 1731 to 1792 has two lions "passant guardant," but neither of these bears any motto. "Challis" also occur bearing the arms of Zeeland and Gelderland, the obverse of which have the names of the state, ZEELANDIA or D. GEL-RAE, instead of the arms of those provinces the former being occasionally surmounted by a castle supported by two stars. Half "challis" are comparatively rare and are, usually of only two varieties, some bearing the plain arms, but unsupported, others the shield with lion rampant. Both in the whole and half "challis" the coat-of-arms is invariably surmounted by a crown, which, however, varies considerably and rather apparently with the dates than with the form of arms. Before leaving this series of curious thin coins, I may mention specimens occasionally met with, bearing on one side the usual monogram with the words JAVA INDIÆ or BATAV or NEDERL-INDIE on the reverse, and under it the date.

Contemporaneous with these is a series of thick and roughly-formed medals, bearing on one side the same mono-

gram and above it one of the letters, C, G, or T (not improbably to denote the town of mintage, Colombo, Galle or Trincomallee). On those in which the C surmounts the monogram the word "stiver" appears in full with the date below. Those with C and T have the abbreviated form of the value, while on the 2 stiver piece of Galle (?) the value, 2 ST, occurs below the monogram and on the reverse under the date the letters இல the initial of "Elankai," the vernacular name of Ceylon. The difference in style and make between these two series of coins, the "challis" and the thick ones now described, is so extremely marked that I think there can hardly be a doubt, but that the former were made in a European mint and exported for the Eastern currency, while the latter have the most decided appearance of being "country-made." One particularly rough specimen I came across in a village near Colombo, which consisted of a small bar of metal about the size of one's little finger, with either end flattened out, the monogram occupying one end and the value, 4½ ST, the other. This piece has, I believe, now found a fit resting place in the Colombo museum. Belonging to this series is a neatly executed ¼ stiver piece, having on the obverse the monogram surmounted by a C and on the reverse ¼ ST. The greater number of these thick coarse coins, however, bear no date, and are smaller than those already described, and these (or most of them) were undoubtedly struck on the main land. By far the commonest have above the monogram the initial letter of the mint town, Negapatam, while on the other side occurs the name of that port in full நாகபட்டணம், thus affording additional evidence of the truth of the theory that the C, G, and T alluded to above were intended, as suggested by Mr. Rhys Davids (p. 36) to serve a similar purpose. Another small series of coins, which I figure as Nos. 52, 53 and 54, for I cannot satisfactorily describe them, bears above the monogram the letter P, doubtless for the mint town Pulicat, where we know

Pl. IV, fig. 52, 53, 54.

a Dutch mint was at one time established, and where most of the specimens in my collection were procured. Of these figures 52 and 53 represent two specimens of the same issue, the one showing the upper, the other the lower portion of the reverse die. On these, three incomprehensible figures occur, one above another, the upper somewhat resembling the emblematic sun and moon, frequently met with on the products of the native mints. The two lower figures appear similar, and *may* be rude imitations of boats, on either side of which are two others equally, if not more, inexplicable, and beneath all what looks like an illiterate attempt to copy a Persian word. Figure 54 is equally incomprehensible, and on the obverse of this even the P is inverted and written, ꟼ, while the reverse reduces the whole of the figures I have tried to describe to a nearer resemblance to an unintelligible Hindustani word. Another coin in my collection, bearing a V above the monogram, bears on the reverse what, by a vast stretch of imagination, might be taken to read ضرب پلیکت (Zerb Palicat), while another has a II above, with a reverse which is so confused that I have never been able to get the most imaginative numismatist to get further than the suggestion that it must be double Dutch. When one looks at these rude caricatures of coins (and, as we shall presently see, we were not far ahead of our Dutch neighbours at the time), and then compare them with the clear cut issues of the Moghals and Pathans struck centuries before, fine in design and exquisite in workmanship, with every letter well defined and clear, one can hardly believe that we were posing among them as a civilized and civilizing power, though for our own credit, be it said, we had not then got so far as the establishment of "Schools of Art."

Early Dutch coins in silver are somewhat rare. Small one and two stiver pieces of 1820–30 are perhaps the commonest of the silver issues of the Dutch in the East. On the reverse they usually bear the arms of the respective states

surmounted by a crown, and exactly resemble the "challis" I have already alluded to, except for the 1. S or 2. S in the field, and the milling which runs round the *field* and not, as in modern coins, round the *edge*. On the reverse we find [14] the name of the state, *e.g.*, HOL-LAN-DIA or ZEE-LAN-DIA in three lines, with the date below. One meets, too, with six-stiver pieces, bearing on one side a ship and on the other the coat of arms surmounted by a crown and having in the field the date and value of the piece. The Dutch are also said to have issued a "Rix-Dollar," but I have never come across a specimen, nor have I met any collector who has seen one: indeed, as far as I can learn, Bertolacci is the only author who ever mentions them.[15] Possibly he alludes to the 30 *stiver pieces*, which, with *dukatons* and gold *ducats* are still to be seen, now and again, in the possession of the old Sinhalese gentry. As in 1783, Negapatam, the last Indian possession of the Dutch, was sold to the English, and in 1802 the peace

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[14] The coins of FRISIA or WEST-FR-ISIA date back as far as 1660. In some specimens of this fine series we find instead of the usual coat of arms a crowned lion rampant left, bearing in his right paw a sword and in his left a bunch of lightning. These names Frisia, Zeelandia, Hollandia, Gel Rae and so forth of course owe their origin to the Netherland provinces of Frisland, Zeeland, Holland and Gelderland, just as England boasts of her Nova Scotia and her New South Wales, or the coins may have been struck in those provinces.

[15] In the part of the *Revue Belge de Numismatique* just published appears a translation by Count Maurin Nahuys of a letter written by a Mr. Canter Visscher, a Dutch Chaplain in Cochin in 1743, in which he gives the following description of coins current at that period :

"Les monnaies païennes ou hindoues étaient des *pagodes*, espèces en or de "la valeur de deux risdales, ayant le même poids que les ducats, mais d'un "titre inférieure. Ces pièces doivent leur nom à l'image d'une idole, qu'elles "portent d'un côté. * * * Les espèces maures en "circulation dans toutes les Indes étaient les *roupies* et *demi-roupies* en or ou "en argent.

"Les monnaies européennes étaient, en argent, les *écus* dis *risdales*, les "*ducatons*, les *piastres espagnoles* dites *spaansche matten ;* en or, les *ducats* et "enfin en cuivre, les *dutes* et *demi-dutes*.

"La Compagnie des Indes orientales avait adopté le *florin* comme unite "de compte, bien que le *risdale* équivalent en Europe à 50 sous et aux Indes

of Amiens made England also mistress of Ceylon, while the Dutch "moved on" beyond our limits, it behoves us to leave them now and to pass on to, firstly, the consideration of the English issues in Ceylon, and then to those struck on the main land.

The very first year of the British occupation of Ceylon witnessed the issue of a coinage peculiar to the island, and from that day to this the same system of issuing a separate series has been continued. Some of the early Anglo-Ceylon types appear to have been struck in England, as they resemble the stamp of coin at that time in use in Europe, and differ widely from those usually turned out of the native mints. On the obverse these coins bear the well-executed figure of an elephant, standing left, with the date 1802 in the exergue, surrounded by a circle and a ring of dots and on the reverse the fraction of the rix-dollar (the value of which was equal to 48 stivers), with the circumscription "CEYLON GOVERNMENT" bordered as on the obverse. This series occurs in three sizes, $\frac{1}{48}$, $\frac{1}{96}$ and $\frac{1}{192}$ of a rix-dollar, which, at this time, as far as English issues were

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"seulement à 48 sous, fût généralement employé dans les transactions com-"merciales privées.

"Le *ducaton* était l'espèce principalement mise en circulation par la "Compagnie, surtout à Batavia. Sa valeur fut fixée par le tarif de la "Compagnie à 13 *escalins* ou *schellingen* de 6 sous, tandis qu'il ne valait "en réalité que 10½ escalins. De cette manière la Compagnie se faisait un "bénéfice de 2½ escalins, soit 15 sous, sur chaque ducaton!

"Les *ducats* servaient surtout dans le commerce avec la Perse. Les "établissements néerlandais à Malabar et à Ceylan étaient généralement "pourvus de ducats, attendu que le commerce du poivre se faisait toujours "avec cette monnaie d'or fixée au taux de 18 escalins. Les ducats de Venise "etaient les plus estimés.

"À Malabar, les petites monnaies indigènes d'or et d'argent etaient "généralement appelées *fanams*. Il en existe plusieurs variétés, à cause du "nombre de monarques qui possédaient le droit de battre monnaie; aussi "différaient-ils entre eux en valeur.

"Les petites monnaies en plomb ou en cuivre s'appelaient *boes ero kken* et *cas* ou *cashs*."

concerned, was but a nominal coin, the actual rix-dollar not being issued till 1821. This was contemporaneous with a far ruder imitation of the same, evidently the produce of a local mint and first issued in 1801. While obverse and reverse remained the same, except in point of value, the workmanship was of a very different character. Instead of the thin symmetrical coin already described, we have a set of thick clumsy pieces, closely resembling the familiar Mahomedan dubs, so common in Indian bazaars, while the style of literation is infinitely inferior, and the careless method of stamping rarely brings the die on to the centre of the coin. This series appears both in silver and copper ; in the former metal of the value of 96, 48 and 24 stivers, and in the latter of $\frac{1}{12}$, $\frac{1}{24}$ and $\frac{1}{48}$ of a rix-dollar. The silver issues of this series are now very rare. The dates on them extend up to 1817. In 1815 and 1821, however, we find a return to the European style of coining and the issue of a series of coins of the value of one rix-dollar in silver, and of two, one and half stivers in copper. The silver coin bears on the obverse the usual elephant in the centre, the lower portion being surrounded by a wreath of leaves, beneath which appears the date, 1821, while above is the inscription in three lines, CEYLON ONE RIX DOLLAR ; the reverse bears the king's head to the left crowned with a wreath of leaves and the inscription GEORGIUS IV. D.G. BRITANNIARUM REX F.D. The copper series also bears the elephant, but without the wreath, the date being 1815 and the inscription above CEYLON, TWO STIVERS, the reverse being as the last, except that the head and inscription are those of George III instead of George IV, and the head faces to the right. Two small silver coins also deserve notice here. The first of these bears on one side the word FANAM, and on the other TOKEN, each inscribed round a small dot in a circle in the centre, though whether this little coin is peculiar to Ceylon or not I cannot say. I have met with several speci-

mens in the island, but never one in India, and Mr. Rhys Davids in his excellent notice of the "Coins and Measures of Ceylon" in the Numismata Orientalia places it among those peculiar thereto. The other to which I allude, he describes as follows:—"It is half an inch in diameter, has on the obverse the bust of Victoria surrounded by the legend VICTORIA D.G. BRITTANIAR. REGINA F.D., and on the reverse the figures $1\frac{1}{2}$ and the date 1842, surmounted by a crown and surrounded by a wreath. This little coin, seldom met with in Ceylon, is beautifully executed and was struck in England." This description so exactly corresponds with that of the $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ of the "Maunday" money, that I cannot but think that the specimens alluded to belong to that series or to an issue of this silver piece, still to a certain extent, in circulation in Malta, as a fraction of $3d.$, which sum appears to be the most usual charge for all small commodities and services in Valetta.

There only remains to be mentioned the series of copper coins now current in the island, where the decimal system has been introduced since 1870. No rupee peculiar to Ceylon has been struck, but pieces of the value of 5, 1, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ cents are peculiar thereto, one hundred cents being equivalent to one rupee of the Indian system. These coins bear on the obverse the Queen's head to the left with VICTORIA above and QUEEN below in an ornamental border. On the reverse appears a palm tree, while in the field we have on one side ශත පහ (5 cents, Sinh.) and on the other ௫சதம் (5 cents, Tam.), the border containing the word CEYLON with the value of the piece.

Passing thence across Adam's Bridge to the main land, we have to consider shortly the issues of the English, the now paramount power in this country; but, before doing so, must take a hasty glance at the period of history that marked the first appearance of that power in the East. The close of the sixteenth century may be said to have witnessed

the birth of England's commercial undertakings beyond the seas that surround her. Before that period internal dissensions, civil wars and the general policy of her rulers had prevented her embarking in any but warlike undertakings abroad. In the middle of the nineteenth century we see her the ruler of the seas, with so vast an extent of colonial territory that the sun never sets on the boundaries of her dominions :—in the middle of the sixteenth, only 300 years before, we find her possessions almost exclusively bounded by the seaboard of Great Britain, with a mercantile marine so weak that London at that time is said to have "possessed but four ships of above one hundred and two tons burden, exclusive of the navy royal." *Now* her merchant princes absorb an enormous percentage of the trade of the world : *then* the cities of the Hanseatic league appear to have almost monopolized the trade of her main towns, while Portugal, who, by the discovery of the Cape route, virtually commanded what little Indian trade there was, vied with the Italian states, who held the trade of Egypt and the Persian Gulf in supplying the Western isles with the products and the luxuries of the East. The accession of Elizabeth, however, inaugurated a new era in the naval history of England. Recognizing the advantages of holding in her own hands the importation of those goods in which her merchant subjects dealt, and realizing, too, that she, as the defender of a faith at variance with that of most of the maritime powers of Europe, above all others, required a strong naval force, she spared no pains to encourage the promotion of that power, which was destined, in the distant future, to raise her country to the highest rank among the nations of the world. "The result," as a writer at the commencement of this century says, "was that the commercial resources of England developed themselves with a rapidity truly wonderful. The scene might have reminded a fanciful spectator of one of those changes undergone by vegetable nature, when after

having slept in the indurated soil, under every appearance of hopeless barrenness, a few vernal days seem to awaken it at once into full blossom." Her formation in 1554 of the Baltic and Russia Companies, her incorporation in 1566 of the "Fellowship of English merchants for the discovery of new trades," the institution in 1581 of the Turkey Company and such like measures formed the germ, whence sprang the vast mercantile power of England. It was not, however, till in the closing years of her reign that Elizabeth first turned her attention to the introduction of a direct trade with India. With this aim in view, and urged on by the destruction on the English coast of a Venetian vessel laden with East-Indian produce of enormous value, she despatched an envoy to the Court of the Moghal Emperor at Delhi to obtain permission to trade in his possessions. This was followed two years later (A.D. 1599) by the institution and incorporation of the first East India Company under the Earl of Cumberland. Under the terms of their charter they enjoyed the exclusive right of trading with the Indies for fifteen years, coupled with a distinct stipulation that, at the termination of that period a further extension of fifteen years should be granted if applied for. Accordingly on the 22nd April 1603 the first expedition, consisting of four ships under the command of Captain Lancaster, a mariner, who had already proved his skill and daring as a navigator, started for the East. To follow, however, at all in detail the history of this and the numerous other companies that followed finds no place in a paper devoted to a consideration of their coins, and, moreover, were I to attempt to touch on the vacillating policy of James and his successors at home or of the constant intrigues and counter-intrigues of the native princes of India, in their dealings with the Company abroad, —of the hidden antagonism at one time and the overt hostility of Dutch and French at another,—all these would take up far more space than I have at my disposal now.

We must hasten on, therefore, to 1640, when we find an event recorded of importance alike to our subject and ourselves. In that year the East India Company purchased the town and port of Madraspatnam. On the fatal field of Talikota the last vestige of actual power had been wrested by the Mahomedans from the once powerful house of Vijeyanagar, and the representative of the royal race had retired to the fastnesses of Chendraghiri. Here he sold to the English the ground where now stands Fort St. George, with permission to establish a factory and fort there, at the same time granting them jurisdiction over the natives, an exemption from customs, and the right to coin money, with the proviso that the pattern in use with his dynasty should be followed. This consisted of the figure of a standing god, the reverse of the coin being granulated and convex. It does not appear certain that any coins were struck for some time after this. Twenty years later, however, we find Charles II inheriting, as part of the dower of Catharine of Braganza, the Island of Bombay, and this territory was leased to the East India Company for £10 per annum, a fair proof of the value of land in the East in those days. Several coins were struck in his time, a mint having been established under royal letters patent, and permission granted to coin rupees, pice and budgrooks,[16] which, however, were not to be of the same pattern as the medals in use in England. Regarding these coins Tavernier, whose works were published in Paris in 1676 by Chapuzeau, one of his comrades in his eastern travels, after observing that the English in their fort of Bombay coin silver, copper, and tin, observes that

[16] There can, I think, be but little doubt, but that this word owed its origin to the Portuguese "bazarucco," the name of a coin which had been in use by that power for years in India : more especially, as both were in the same metal, tutenag. Dr. da Cunha refers the origin of the term to روك (small change) and بازار (market).

"this money will not pass at Súrat nor in any part of the Great Moghal's dominions, or in any of the territories of the Indian kings; only it passes among the English in their fort and some two or three leagues up in the country and in the villages along the coast." To most of his coins there is no need to allude, as they were neither minted for circulation in this Presidency, nor, as far as I am aware, have any specimens ever been discovered here. There is, however, one notable exception, which I have figured as No. 55. This coin, which occurs in two sizes (weighing respectively 25 and 12½ grs.), is thus described by Mr. E. Thomas in a paper in the *Indian Antiquary* for November 1882:— "Obverse,—two linked C's (the monogram of Charles II) with two or three dots at the sides. Reverse—the ordinary standing figure of the Indian god (Vishnu ?)." It has usually been attributed to the Bombay mint, though for the following reasons I am inclined to think it more probable that it is an issue of Madras, coined during Charles' reign. In the first place the *type* of coin connects it with the design imposed by the Vijeyanagar king on the Madras mint; secondly, it differs entirely from all the known issues struck at the time in Bombay; thirdly, it fits in with the Hindu system of the south; and, lastly, it is occasionally met with in this Presidency, while from inquiries I have made from collectors in Bombay, I find that it is rarely if ever found there. At the same time, or shortly after, Madras also minted the "star" pagoda. Here too the same figure was preserved, but on the granulated surface was a five-pointed star, whence its popular name. It was followed by a series of coins in which the same figure was preserved on the obverse, but surrounded by a scroll, on which the value of the coin was inscribed in Tamil and Telugu, while on the reverse appears the "gopura" or entrance porch of a temple, designed perhaps to keep up its reputation as a "pagoda." A number of stars

Pl. IV, No. 56.

were placed in the field, with a scroll around bearing the value in English and Hindustani. A series of these coins were struck, consisting of a double and single pagoda in gold, and a half and quarter in silver, all following the same model (Pl. IV, No. 59) and agreeing with the Hindu system, under which 8 kás went to the fanam and 42 fanams to the pagoda. No fraction of the fanam was, however, struck following the pagoda model, but coins were minted of the value of five, three, two, and one fanam, a specimen of which I figure as No. 57. Two types of the whole series occur, differing, however, so slightly that it is unnecessary to describe them accurately. Each has on one side a scroll ending in a buckle with the value of the coin in English, the Hindustani equivalent occupying the centre, while on the reverse the scroll is surmounted by a star, the value of the coin in Telugu being in the centre and the same in Tamil running round.

Pl. IV, No. 57.

Local silver coins were also made for issue at some of the Company's factories, the commonest being those of Tellicherry, of which two types occur, each having the initial letter of the mint (T), and one the scales so common on the early copper coins both of Bombay and Madras with the letter under the balance and date (1805) in the exergue. The other with the name of the mint town in Persian, the T being placed on the obverse with 99 beside it. I had always looked upon this 99 as being an abbreviated form of the date 1799, but since the above was in the press I have seen a small *gold* coin exactly corresponding to the one here described, but with the date 1801 in the exergue, the "99" still appearing at the top. To the issue struck at Pondicherry I have already alluded. The letter P here takes the place of the T, and the name of the mint town occurs in Persian as in the last. Cannanore also boasted, or is said to have boasted, of a similar issue, though there appears some uncertainty about it.

Pl. IV, No. 58.

The copper coins of the Company,[17] prior to about 1700, are very rare, especially in the Southern Presidency, and as few of them bear any date, and fewer still any mint town, it is somewhat hard to discover when and where they were struck. Several appear to have been issued by Charles II and a few by James II, a notice of which, well worthy of perusal, appeared from the pen of Mr. E. Thomas in the *Indian Antiquary* for November 1882. George II also appears to have struck money in Bombay both in copper and in tutenag, which usually bears on the obverse a large crown surmounted by the letters G.R. and with the abbreviation BOMB. (Bombay) in the exergue. On the reverse we usually find the motto *Auspicio regis et Senatus Angliæ*, or, as on the "Pice Bombaye," the monogram of the Company V.E.I.C. in a divided shield, surmounted by a device like the figure **4**, and this, with some few variations, continued on most of the Company's coins up to the time of the introduction of their coat of arms at the commencement of the present century. A good deal of discussion has arisen as to the origin and meaning of this **4**, but as a reference to the hand-books of the mercantile tokens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries proves the same mark to be of very common occurrence on the pieces struck by the tradesmen of those periods, I think there is every reason to regard it as merely a trade mark.

Pl. IV, No. 60.

In one series of coins struck in the south during the eighteenth century, we find another form of monogram, if so it may be called, a specimen of which I figure as No. 60. On the one side invariably appears the date in large characters between two waving lines, while the other is divided by a horizontal line,

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[17] A very much needed contribution to numismatic literature is, I believe, now in course of preparation by Mr. E. Thurston of the Central Museum, Madras, in the shape of a complete catalogue of the coins of the East India Company.

from the centre of which the upper portion is again divided by a cross. In each of the upper divisions is a figure like a crescent moon to the right, the lower portion of the shield being occupied by the letter E, and the whole surrounded by an ornamental border. The earliest coin of this series that I have met with was found in the extreme south (Kelikaraì) and bears date[18] 1702, and as I have in my own collection one struck as late as 1801 and several intermediate years, the series must have ranged over a century. About 1730 a new form of triply-divided shield appears, one of the letters E.I.C. occupying each division, above which is a waving line, surmounted as usual by the **4**. On the reverse we still find usually the date, but occasionally this gives place to the cross lines which appear on the early Mysore and other Hindu coins. This form of monogram appears to have remained in fashion till the latter part of the last century, when we find a return to the earliest form, in which the V.E.I.C. appears as shown in Nos. 62, 63, and 64. On some of these, as for instance No. 62, the date still retains its place on the reverse, while on others the "scales of justice" take its place with the Persian word عدل (justice) beneath. About 1790 a change also took place in the style of the Company's coins. The former rough piece, unmilled and shapeless, gave way to the circular European form of coin, that of 1791 (No. 63) being about the first to boast of an even and milled edge. About the same period the Company's coat of arms appeared for the first time, and with it came innumerable series of coins, the reverses of which (and sometimes obverses as well) were occupied by the value of the piece in the language of the people of the country in which it was intended to pass current, some consequently

Pl. IV, No. 61.

Pl. IV, Nos. 62, 63, 64, 65.

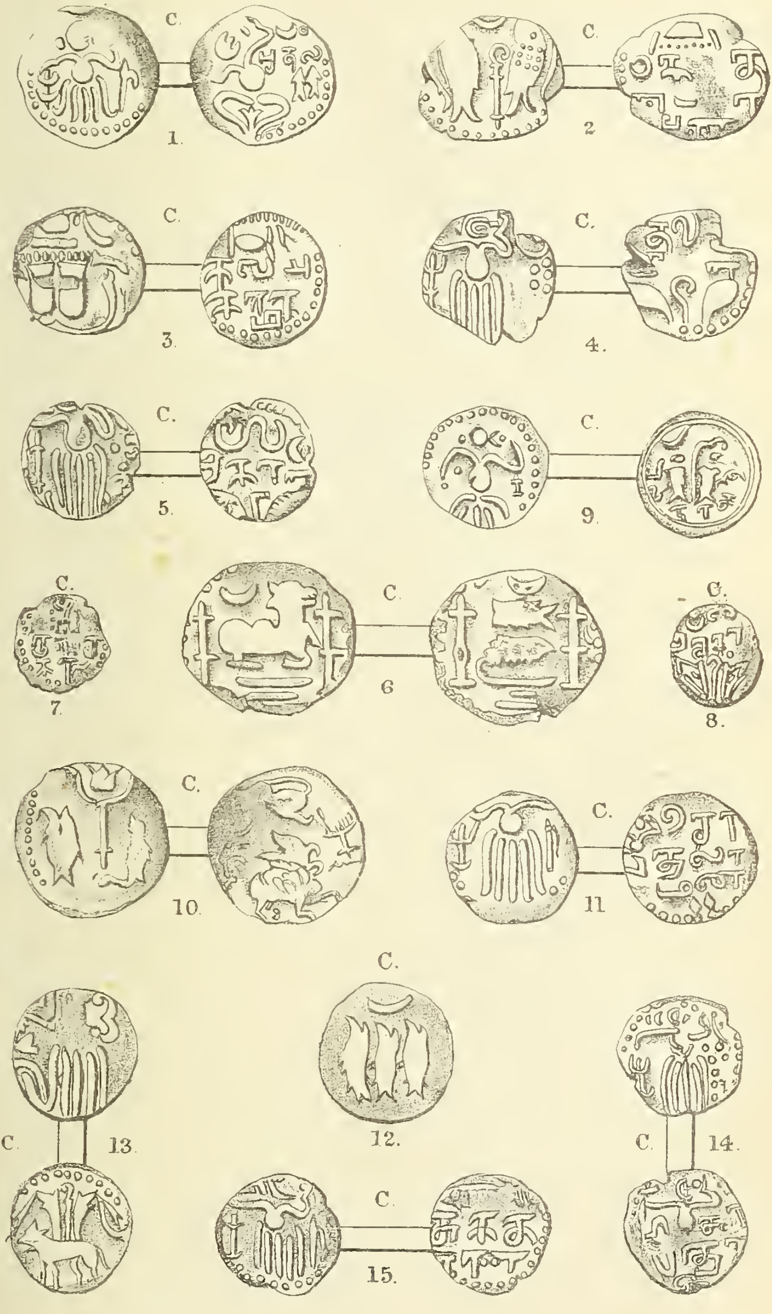
[18] With the limited number of specimens available for comparison the dates of the commencement and discontinuance of particular series can, of course, only be approximate, and in some instances may not even be that.

being impressed with as many as four different types of character, such as Persian, Devanagari, Canarese, Tamil, Telugu and so forth. As, however, there can be no difficulty in recognizing all these, they require no detailed notice.

To return now to the issues in the more precious metals that found currency beyond the limits of this Presidency. While the Hindu method of pagoda and fanam was in use here, the rest of India had the Mahomedan rupee system, and this consisted of an endless variety of issues from native mints, each gradually but surely depreciating in value, in inverse ratio to the comparative integrity of the ruler of the state at the time. Even the Company's coins varied very considerably, each Presidency having its own particular mint or mints. Those struck in Calcutta (known as the "sikka" rupee) bear on the obverse the name of the then ruling Moghal Emperor Shah Alum and on the reverse ضرب مرشداباد سنہ ۱۹ جلوس میمنت مانوس (struck at Murshidábád in the 19th year of the happy reign); those of Faruckábád (afterwards struck at Sagur) have ضرب فرخاباد سنہ ۴٥ جلوس میمنت مانوس (struck at Faruckábád in the 40th year of the happy reign). The appearance of the same "jalús" date on each coin of the same mint would render the assignment of anything approaching the year of mintage an impossibility, except by means of assay, were it not that a difference was made in the style of milling. Thus the old Calcutta rupee from 1793 to 1818 and that of Faruckábád from 1803 to 1809 had an *oblique* milling. Those coined between 1819 and 1832 in the former and between 1819 and 1824 in the latter had the edge straight milled like the ordinary coins of to-day, and all subsequent to these a plain and unmilled edge. The Bombay series bears date the 46th year of Shah Alum's reign, the inscription being جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب سورت سنہ ۴۶. The Bombay (?) mint also turned out in 1825 a series of rough coins, consisting of a mohur, rupee, half and quarter rupee bearing the same

"jalús" date (۳۶) with the year of the Christian era (except in the mohur) apparently *punched* upon it. On the obverse the upper dot of the ش of شاه عالم takes the form of a crown, while above the ه are three dots surmounted by a star or flower. The same mint is also credited with a minute and rare coin in gold of the value of one rupee, on which a large seven-pointed star appears in the س of the جلوس. On the introduction of the rupee system into the more southerly Presidency, Arcot, which had, as we have already seen, been the mint town of the Nawábs of the Karnatik, also appeared upon the Company's coins. A complete series of mohur, double rupee, rupee, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{16}$ rupee was struck there and bore as date the 20th year of the reign of Aziz-ud-dhin Alemgir.

By Act VII of 1836 the "sikka" and other coins with Persian legends passed away, and the present stamp of rupee, weighing 180 grains, of which 165 grains are pure silver, came into universal vogue throughout the country. From this point I need hardly say a more sordid, if not less absorbing, interest centres around coin-collecting, but one regarding which I fear I can offer no practical "hints," though were I able to do so, my circle of readers would doubtless be considerably increased.



ALEX: BARREN, LITHOG: MADRAS 1887.

[illegible]

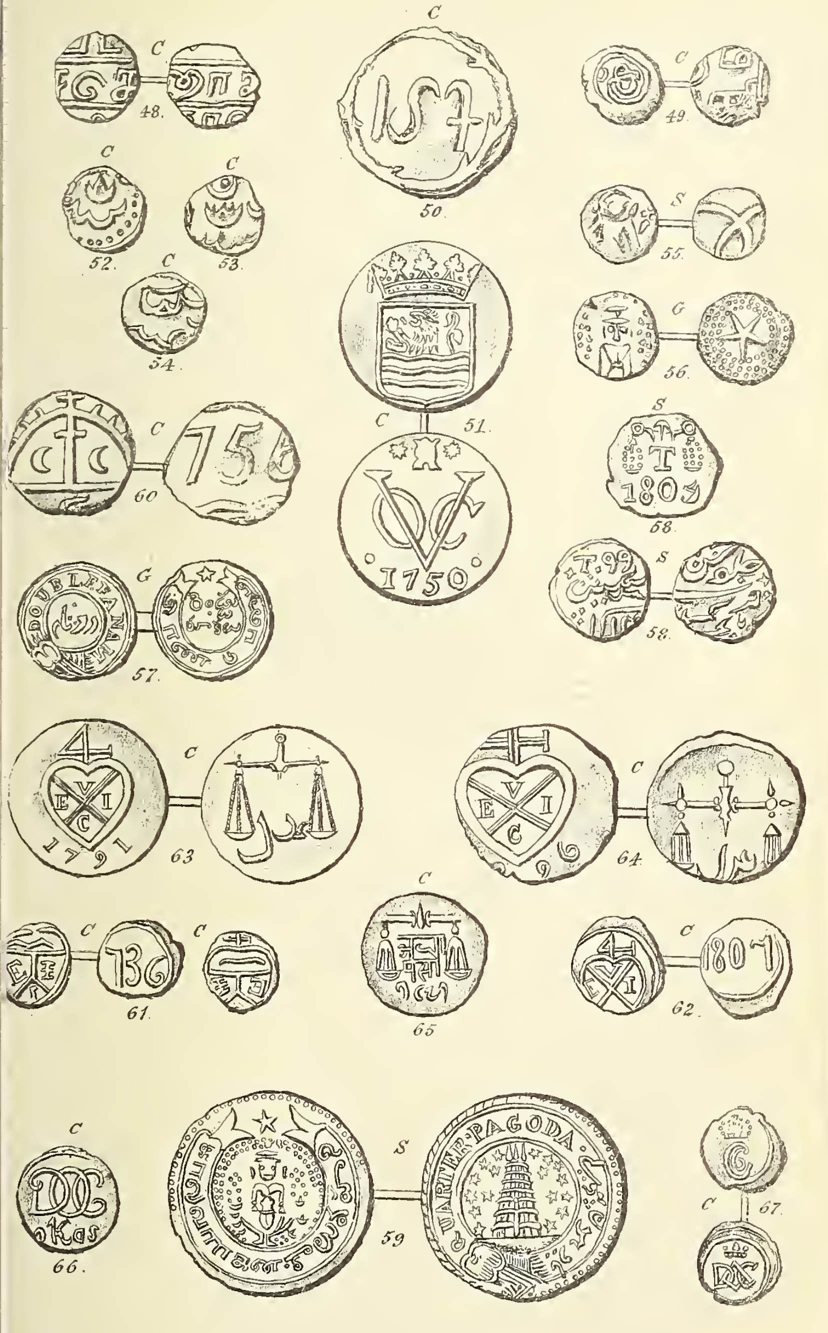
Plat

Plate, 3.

C.H.C.T.

K. BARREN LITHOG: MADRAS, 1888.

Plate 4.



I. C. T.

WARREN; LITHOG. MADRAS, 1888.